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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. Military Policies Toward ASEAN States Assailed (APN DAILY REVIEW, 2 Feb 84).....	1
U.S. Private Investment Said Harmful to Africa (APN DAILY REVIEW, 3 Feb 84)....	4
Non-Marxist African Ideologists Seen Recognizing 'Correctness' of Marxism (Aida Moseyko; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	7
PRC Press Cited on Concern Over Continuing High Population Growth (Vladimir Kurbatov; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	14
Imperialism and the Developing Countries. Evolution of Mutual Relations (Viktor Kremenyuk, Vladimir Lukin; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	18
U.S.-S. Korean-Japanese Military Cooperation Seen Threatening Asia (ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	27
Marx Cited on Positive Elements of British Colonialism in India (Erik Komarov; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	32
Indian Progress, Problems Since Independence Surveyed (ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	37

Need for Soviet Armed Might To Preserve Peace Stressed (Mikhail Yasyukov; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	44
Soviet Role in DPRK Economic Progress Since Korean War Lauded (Ivan Bogdan; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	52
PDRY Success in Overcoming Economic Problems Viewed (Seif Sael Khaled; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	56
Western, South African Policies on Namibia Assailed (Kseniya Borishpolets, Aleksey Kovalenko; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	61
Successes, Problems Seen in Mali Agrarian Reform Program (Galina Vitukhina; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	68
Libyan Economic, Social, Foreign Policies Under Qadhafi Praised (Anatoliy Yegorin, Vladimir Shagal; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	72
Construction of Nigerian Steel Plant With Soviet Aid Described (Vladimir Novikov; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	77
Projects for UN International Clean Water Decade Discussed (Boris Porfir'yev; ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	80
FRG, U.S. Books on Afro-Asian Socialist Regimes Reviewed (ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	84
Ghanian Book on Ethnicity, Political Integration Reviewed (ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY, No 1, Jan 84).....	86
Rothschilds, Schneiders Blamed for Rising French Militarism (Ernst Genri; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 10 Dec 83).....	88
Soviet TV Film Portrays Americans as Criminals (D. Chase; TELEVIDENIYE I RADIOVESHCHANIYE, No 12, Dec 83).....	94
Soviet TV Film Based on Novel by Irwin Shaw (Irwin Shaw; Moscow Television Service, 1 Feb 84).....	94

NATIONAL

Assistant Editor of PRAVDA Cites Need for Economic Experimentation (Dmitriy Valovoy; ZHURNALIST, No 1, Jan 84).....	95
Believers 'Cannot Be Trusted' To Work as Ordinary Citizens Do (A. Chertkov; KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 18 Nov 83).....	101

REGIONAL

Azeri Minister of Justice on Protecting State Property (N. Yusifov; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 11 Jan 84).....	104
Mutalibov Interview on Industrial Construction Projects (A. N. Mutalibov Interview; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 26 Jan 84).....	109
Azerbaijan CP Buro Discusses Labor Resources (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 27 Jan 84).....	112
Georgian CP CC Buro Meetings Detailed (ZARYA VOSTOKA, various dates).....	114
Buro Discusses Party Conference Shortcomings in Research Institute Tbilisi Party Work Examined	
Vayno on Fulfilling State Plan, Production and S&T Potential (K. Vayno; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 18, Sep 83).....	119
Instructions for Estonian CP on Party Dues Given (KOMMUNIST ESTONII, No 10, Oct 83).....	127
Literary Criticism Must Show Mutual Influence of Uzbek, Russian Literatures (O. Filimonov; LITERATURNAYE OBOZRENIYE, No 12, Dec 83).....	137
Turkmen Novel Takes 3rd Place in 'Chekist, Borderguard Literature' Category (TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 8 Jan 84).....	143
Deputy Director of Turkmen 'House of Atheism' on Refining Atheistic Work (L. Red'ko; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 10 Jan 84).....	144

Loyal Baptists Reject Gifts From Abroad (I. Gurinovich; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 18 Dec 83).....	148
Religion, Old Customs Create Problems in Chechen-Ingush ASSR (V. Lysenko, A. Podl'skiy; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 19 Jan 84).....	153

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. MILITARY POLICIES TOWARD ASEAN STATES ASSAILED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 2 Feb 84 pp 1-4

[I. Garbuzov article: "Lasso for Southeast Asia"]

[Text] In an attempt to expand the sphere of US imperial interests, Washington has been massively building up its military power in the Far East and Southeast Asia and making every effort to militarise the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins. An ominous semicircle of American war bases, strong points, tracking stations and strategic bridgeheads ever more tightly encompasses this region, posing an increasing threat to the security and sovereignty of its countries and peoples.

The approach of the Reagan team to Southeast Asia has been determined by its overall strategic doctrine of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union. And it is not only the proximity of the countries of the region to the southern borders of the USSR that Washington means. It aims at the suppression of the national-liberation movement there, blackmail against and the undermining of the sovereignty of a number of states following the course of peace, independence and progress.

For the realisation of its expansionist line the United States is making wide use of the arsenal of propaganda means. Not the last place among them is held by the myths of a "communist threat" and others. With their help, as US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT tells its readers, the USA intends to turn the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and newly-admitted Brunei, into a military bloc. The latest variation on this theme, according to the newspaper DAILY WORLD, is that the Pentagon would have them join the new alliance that is being created in the Far East, represents a lineup of the United States, Japan and South Korea and is clearly anti-Soviet.

But the countries of the region are not willing to participate in the bloc policy of Washington.

Despite this, the USA has been trying to tie the ASEAN states to its new war chariot in every possible way. Suffice it to say that the Pentagon has mounted a virtual diplomatic onslaught on the countries of the area. The USA is giving every encouragement to the expansion of military cooperation

among the association's members, the coordination of their relevant plans, the practical fine-tuning of the teamwork of their armed forces, the exchange of intelligence, the sending of small contingents of troops from one country to another for special training, the standardisation of weapons and combat equipment and so forth. US Secretary of Defence C. Weinberger has bluntly declared that Washington would welcome a "strengthening of the military and political unity" of ASEAN and is prepared to increase arms supplies to the countries of the association further still.

Facts eloquently reveal the size of this "aid." Thus, the worth of annual supplies in 1981/82 trebled and reached 450 million dollars. 1983's American easy-term credits to the ASEAN countries came to over 250 million dollars, an increase of 50 per cent over 1981. The Pentagon is planning to double the supply of arms and combat equipment to these states by the year 1985.

The arms purchases, naturally, have led to the growth of the military expenditures of these countries. As reported by the Western press, ASEAN members in 1982 spent over 8 billion dollars for military purposes (Indonesia 2.8, Malaysia 2.2, Thailand 1.5, the Philippines 1 billion and Singapore 700 million dollars). The average yearly rate of growth in arms spending is 15 per cent and amounts to over one-fifth of their national budgets.

The US approach to each of the ASEAN nations hinges on both their strategic position and their attitude to the US military and political line. A special role is being allotted to the Philippines. Five of the largest American bases are located on the islands of that country.

Washington has exerted political and economic pressure, as well as using other means of leverage, to impose on Manila a new agreement which would consolidate the Pentagon's rights to the Philippine bases. The signing of the agreement took place early last June. The United States is now entitled to the use of these bases up till 1989.

As for Thailand, the Pentagon regards it as its chief jumping-off ground for military provocations against Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos.

Joint American-Thailand naval manoeuvres also threaten the peace and security in the region.

Another object of increasing attention from the Pentagon strategists is Singapore as a transshipment point for aircraft making flights on the Pacific-Indian Ocean routes. American ships have begun calling at the island's ports more frequently.

As shown above, Southeast Asia plays a particular role in the imperial ambitions of Washington. Whereas the Pentagon views this area of the world as a kind of intermediate bridgehead, a connecting link between the US war bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, the American military-industrial complex covets the natural resources of the region: the ASEAN

countries yield 83 per cent of the world natural rubber output, 72 per cent of tin and possess 90 per cent of the world stocks of valuable species of timber. Large oil and gas reserves are also concentrated here. This explains the greedy gaze of the US monopolies whose interests closely intertwine with the strategy of the Pentagon.

One must also note the following important element of the military-strategic policy of Washington toward Southeast Asia. The escalation of interference, militarisation and increased arms supplies are accompanied by a stepup of the ideological offensive of the USA in the area. Washington and the secret services of the Pentagon have been spending millions of dollars to undermine the national-liberation movement and conduct subversive activities against the socialist countries and the patriots of Indochina. The propaganda outfit USIA has asked for over 24 million dollars for 1984, which is two million more than in 1983, for psychological sabotage in the region. The staff of the 34 offices of the USIA in Southeast Asia numbers more than several thousand and includes American intelligence officers, as well as traitors and renegades from the countries of the area.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, its policy in Southeast Asia is consistent and principled. The well-known Soviet proposals regarding the Persian Gulf--not to create foreign military bases and not to place nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction; not to use and not to threaten the use of force against the countries of the region; and not to put up obstacles in the way of normal trade and the use of sea communication lines--fully hold for the entire Indian Ocean basin, including its eastern part. Today these proposals are even more pertinent for Southeast Asia than ever before.

(SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA, Feb. 2. Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/124

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. PRIVATE INVESTMENT SAID HARMFUL TO AFRICA

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 3 Feb 84 pp 1-3

[S. Shibayev article: "Plunder Disguised as 'Aid'"]

[Text] Countries of the African continent have inherited plenty of acute and difficult-to-solve problems from the days when the metropolitan countries were mercilessly plundering their riches and exterminating their peoples.

Suffice it to say that Africa, one of the wealthiest parts of the world in terms of natural resources, contains, according to UN figures, about two-thirds of the least developed nations, and per capita incomes here are less than three per cent of the world average.

At the same time, operating in the economies of 50 newly free countries of the continent are 5,000 subsidiaries of transnational corporations (TNCs).

The Western mass media keep harping that these international monopolies have become all but the best "friends" of the African countries, their "selfless partners". Ordinarily, reference is made to the sum total of direct foreign investments in the continent's states, which had reached 11 billion dollars by the beginning of the 80s. But at this point Africa's "friends" fall silent. Why? We'll try to explain.

As soon as maximum profits per unit of capital invested in the African economies is achieved, the influx of new money begins gradually to dry up, and lo and behold--an amazing picture emerges before our eyes--the volume of monopolies' profits exported from these countries begin substantially to exceed their direct investments in these states during the same period. In the course of 1970-1978 period, for example, the inflow of new foreign direct capital investments into Africa's newly independent countries amounted to 4.3 billion dollars, while the amount of profits repatriated during the same span of time, was 15.9 billion dollars. Here is what is concealed behind the multi-billion investments by TNCs, behind those magic figures which mislead so many people.

The new African policy of the present US administration, which is representing the most reactionary circles of the American monopolies, is a fair indication of the true complexion of TNC's "partnership" with African countries and of the monopolies' "assistance" to these countries.

The Washington modern concept of "aid" for African is built around two main features. [as published] First, newly free African countries are offered an international version of Reaganomics, which has proclaimed American aid to the developing nations a matter for private enterprise, not a subject of state policy. In other words, the "best" way of getting rid of poverty and backwardness is for the African countries to give a free hand to the TNCs and to flung doors wide open for private investments from abroad. [as published] Second, the granted aid is closely linked up with US political and military interests, and is given chiefly on a bilateral basis.

The role of military aid, primarily of credits issued to finance US corporations' deliveries of weapons and combat technology to African countries, keeps growing. In 1983 fiscal year military aid accounted for over 30 per cent of overall US aid to Africa.

The main recipients of US weapons are Kenya, Liberia, Morocco, Somalia, Tunisia and Zaire. Washington also intends to extend credits to purchase US combat technology to Senegal, Niger, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

America's military clients find themselves in the more dramatic economic situation because growing US military aid increases their foreign debt, depletes their resources and maims their general economic growth. However, huge American corporations and the US military-industrial complex as a whole derive tremendous profits from military aid which increases African countries' dependence on US imperialism.

As for the pattern, aims and geography of investments, US corporations proceed from considerations that have nothing in common with the economic development of African nations.

Thus, in the early 1980's Africa was responsible for only 10 per cent of overall US overseas direct private investments, while the rate of profit reached 37.8 per cent there, greatly exceeding the relevant indices for other developing regions. Also, US investors take home close to 80 per cent of their profits from Africa.

This shows that the main interest of the US corporations in Africa is to have a guaranteed supply of raw materials and to receive the high possible profits on investments. This, however, does not exhaust "the interest" of the US multinationals in the economic development of Africa. The neocolonialist exploitation of the African nations has become a sine qua non of the "normal" performance of the US economy. The objective of the policy of "aid", "partnership in development", "interdependence", etc., is to turn the growing economies of the newly-free African countries into an appendage to the US transnationals. These countries are to make automobile tyres, paints and varnishes, mineral fertilizers and other less sophisticated industrial products. US corporations do not even think of developing modern industries in those African countries which have all the necessary factors for this.

The present US administration obviously dislikes the growing economic and political independence of many newly-free African countries and their desire to overcome backwardness, because this affects America's "national interests". This is confirmed by official papers the White House issues. The US administration has circulated a secret document to all US high-ranking officials abroad. It says that the United States must establish domination over the world's key regions, including Africa. As for the countries which conduct, covertly or overtly anti-American (i.e. independent policy), they should be either isolated or set against one another. Among such countries the document mentions Libya, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Algeria and Madagascar. This hardly needs comment.

(IZVES11A, Feb. 2. Abridged.)

CSO: 1812/124

INTERNATIONAL

NON-MARXIST AFRICAN IDEOLOGISTS SEEN RECOGNIZING 'CORRECTNESS' OF MARXISM

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 2-5

[Article by Aida Moseyko, candidate of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "Economics, Politics, Ideology": "Marxist Trends in the Philosophical Thought in Africa"]

[Text]

The history of world social thought provides ample evidence that during periods of revolutionary upheavals the need increases among representatives of the rising classes in the philosophical understanding of the social processes taking place, in determining their place in society and in the world, and the possibilities for transforming both.

In contemporary African society this need is immense. It largely determines the character of African ideology, which took shape as the ideology of the national liberation movement on the enslaved continent, as the ideology of the rebirth of a national spirit and national culture which have replaced the alien culture of the colonialists.

After winning their independence the African countries were first faced with the problems of choosing a path of development, working out theoretically the scientific bases for social reforms, and moulding a national self-consciousness. These were in addition to general world-view problems that were subordinated to the task of understanding the past, present, and future of African society. Professional philosophical activity has enlivened markedly in African countries, especially over the last decade. For example, in Zaire, Cameroon, Kenya, Senegal, and other countries philosophical journals are regularly published, and in 1973 an Inter-African Council on Philosophy was set up, which in Cotonou (Benin) issues the journal *Consequence*.

In Africa today there are two forces that influence philosophical thought: bourgeois idealistic ideology, which is at times theological, and the materialistic philosophy of Marxism. At present one can already speak of a Marxist tendency that manifests itself both in the strictly philosophical research of

professional scholars and in the works of ideologists and political figures of revolutionary democracy. The bourgeois-reformist tendency is developing as the main form in the confrontation with the Marxist tendency: its representatives either criticise Marxist-Leninist doctrine or try to revise or "improve" it, although some of them recognise Marxism's significance, and sometimes even use various Marxist tenets in an eclectic combination with their own. Finally, the tendency of searching for and re-creating a distinctly African philosophy, developing under the influence of Western ethnological, philosophical-idealistic, and theological concepts and unrelated formally to the two previously-mentioned tendencies, is widespread. Its adherents never express explicitly their attitude towards Marxism, yet in the last decade ideological disputes within this tendency have driven its critics to turn to Marxist methodology and to employ Marxist principles.

Today any ideology that puts forth a claim of being scientific is unable to develop in isolation from Marxism-Leninism. It is for this reason that the majority of contemporary African ideologists and philosophers, especially from the tropical countries, in one way or another turn to Marxist teachings.



Back in 1932 a number of students from Africa and the Antilles Islands who were studying in Paris in a manifesto entitled *Légitime défense* openly proclaimed themselves adherents of the dialectical materialism of Marx, which is free of all jaundiced interpretations and which has been successfully tested by Lenin's deeds. Dialectical materialism not only influenced the formation and character of the development of socio-philosophical thought in Africa, but also assisted revolutionary democrats in moulding an ideology. During their struggle against colonialism, the latter tried to base themselves on a number of Marxist-Leninist tenets. At the time they were mostly interested in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism, tactics for struggling against imperialism, and other aspects. As an illustration of this point we might mention the earlier works of Kwame Nkrumah, the ideas of the leaders of the left wing of the Nigerian labour movement at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, or the debates that took place in the French colonies in the 1950s about the nature of the social classes in Africa and the role that each of them could play in the struggle for independence.

In the 1960s, after the majority of African countries had already won political independence, revolutionary democrats more increasingly treated Marxism as an integral teaching and accepted all of its major tenets in their entirety. It was during

this time that the President of Guinea Ahmed Sekou Touré, in articles published in the *Horoya* newspaper, set forth the principle of basic similarity in trends of nations' development, talked about the inclusion of Africans in the "socio-historical process which is independent of individual will", and analysed the African situation, taking as a basis the economic relations between people who are "subordinated to the laws of production and consumption".

The views of revolutionary democrats do not always perfectly coincide with the tenets of Marxism. Their ideology, which arose on the basis of a mass anti-colonial, democratic movement, is often limited by the extent of political consciousness of the popular masses, especially the semi- and non-proletarian segments on which the movement relied for the good part of its support. In their theoretical assumptions the adherents of this tendency strove to adapt themselves to the psychology of these segments. They made frequent attempts to abandon materialism and interlace Marxist-Leninist tenets with elements of idealism.

The apparent reason for these attempts at eclecticism is that as Marxism spread through Africa, its theoretical principles were mastered much quicker than the necessary conditions appeared for carrying these principles into life. In other words, the progressive leaders of Africa adopted Marxist tenets earlier than the conditions were ripe for employing them in the class struggle in different countries. Furthermore, Marxism was not infrequently seen as a "ready" ideology that had to be put into practice to the letter, and not as a methodology for understanding the African reality.

All this does not, of course, diminish the debt that history owed to such pioneers as the outstanding leader of the national liberation movement, political figure and thinker Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, whose philosophical ideas were shaped under the influence of Marxism-Leninism. Near the end of the 1960s he had made an attempt to formulate a conception which in his opinion would serve as the theoretical basis for activity directed at reforming the socio-economic and cultural conditions in African countries. For his philosophy, which he called consciencism, K. Nkrumah borrowed a number of major principles from dialectical and historical materialism and expressed some interesting views about the nature of ideology. He tried, however, to create a specific philosophical system on the first stage of his ideological evolution that differed from Marxism. He argued that philosophy is an instrument of ideology, and that the latter is the main force for developing society, which, in turn, is linked to his idea that consciousness is an independent category of being, independent of matter. Such a

purely idealistic premise led K. Nkrumah to logically conclude that the philosophy of consciencism "does not necessarily have to be an atheistic doctrine".

In later years K. Nkrumah discarded several of his mistaken notions, yet on the whole his philosophy was still plagued by profound contradictions. Recognising the correctness of Marxism, he nevertheless was unable to coherently and dialectically apply Marxist principles to an analysis of African reality.

The theoretical ideas of another leading ideologist of the national liberation movement, Ahmed Sekou Touré, were also largely influenced by Marxist philosophy. His writings have been collected into 23 volumes, in which he touches on, in addition to social and political problems, questions of the interaction of matter and the spirit, the problems of materialistic dialectics and historical materialism, etc., Sekou Touré's writings abound in contradictions, especially in respect to religion.

It goes without saying that the religious piety of the masses forces the revolutionary-democratic ideologists to treat the given problems flexibly, to refrain from propagandising principles that might offend the sensibilities of believers. However be it, Ahmed Sekou Touré's acknowledgement of the correctness of dialectical and historical materialism made, among other places, at an international ideological seminar in Conakry (1978) clearly contradicts one of his subsequent statements. In particular, he stated that as for philosophical materialism, which denies the existence of God and the superiority of the spirit, the Guinean revolution does not approve of it and does not intend to approve of it since the philosophy of Islam, which the Guinean people deeply believe in, maintains the existence of God.

It must be noted that the problem pertaining to the compatibility of religion and revolutionary ideologies, particularly Marxism, is at present of special significance (for reasons which hardly need to be explained here). To reject Marxism because it is supposedly incompatible with the "profound religious nature of the African soul" is typical of such bourgeois-reformist ideologists as Leopold Sédar Senghor, Mamadou Dia, Doudou Gey, and others. Bourgeois scholar in African studies Louis Vincent Tomas expressed this view perfectly in stating that the roots of religion in Africa lie in "the mind and physiology and in the philosophy which expresses them... African Marxism, when applied, will not be atheistic, however contradictory this may seem".

Disagreeing with L. V. Tomas, philosopher G. L. Hazoumé of Benin says in the book *Idéologies Tribalistes et Nation en Afrique (le cas Dahoméen)* that the view of religiosity as an integral quality of the African peoples is an overstatement and is based on little evidence. A Marxist critique of religion can also be applied to the traditional African

religions, which "drag along with themselves a real burden of superstition..., encourage ignorance, and support certain forms of obscurant mystification. Moreover, religion is a tool which imperialism skilfully uses to preserve its political and cultural rule over our peoples".

In this respect it is worth noting the activity of young African philosophers educated in Europe who study Marxism with interest and who attempt to apply Marxist methodology in analysing the so-called African philosophy which is seen as a sum of "eternal truths" that are true for the African people only and that determine the specific features of their culture and their human qualities.

One of these young philosophers is P. J. Hountondji of Benin. In his book entitled *Sur la Philosophie Africaine* (Paris, 1977), in addition to a political critique of "ethnophilosophy" (which he defines as ethnology with philosophical claims) he sets himself the more profound task of using Marxist methodology to refute the theoretical basis of the concept of "Bantu philosophy". He justly notes that philosophy cannot be reduced to an unrealised world-view hidden deep down in the psyche of African peoples, and speaks of the sharp difference that exists between mythology, which while trying to explain something nonetheless proves nothing, and philosophy. He argues that the term "African philosophy" can be understood to mean any world-view, any system of relatively stable convictions that determine the behaviour of an individual or a group. Such an attitude to the surrounding world that is unable to be grounded theoretically is linked more to psyche than to reason.

The author contends that "Bantu philosophy" is a myth. To destroy this myth, to free the conceptual horizon for real theoretical thinking—this is the task that now faces African philosophers and other scholars, a task that cannot be separated from political action or the struggle against imperialism. To accomplish this task, he continues, requires freedom of expression, that very freedom which reactionary regimes attempt to suppress. All this means that the responsibility of the African philosopher (just as of any African scholar) escapes the narrow bounds of his speciality, for the theoretical liberation of philosophical thought presupposes political liberation.

African critics of "ethnophilosophy" do not at all deny the existence of original African thought. On the contrary, they emphasise that the various peoples of the continent maintain their own "practical ideology" which incorporates elements of their world-view and knowledge. The task at hand for contemporary scholars is to "demythologise" the laws which govern the development of this "practical ideology", to remove its shell of exoticism that has been built up by European "ethnophilosophers"

who fail to take into account the true nature of "practical ideology", which by itself (though not at all exotic) is worthy of the attention of researchers.

The problems of "African philosophy" and a critique of "ethnophilosophy" are extremely urgent, and it is no coincidence that there exists a multitude of works devoted to this topic. Deserving mention, aside from those already noted above, is the book *Essai sur la problématique philosophique dans l'Afrique actuelle* by Prof. Marcien Towa of Cameroon University (Yaounde), and the articles of authors such as H. O. Odera (Kenya), T. E. Wiredu (Ghana), S. S. Adotevi (Benin), and O. Balogun (Nigeria).



In examining the influence of Marxism-Leninism on contemporary philosophical thought in African countries, one must not overlook the question of the ideological struggle being waged in Africa around Marxism. Bourgeois-reformist ideologists, insisting on the "unique qualities" of the paths of development of the continent's nations, actually speak out for the capitalist path.

A systematic critique of Marxism is contained in the works of L. S. Senghor. In them, the author contrasts Marxism with the philosophy of "Negritude". His followers deny that Marxist teaching can be used for analysing African reality. They maintain that it can allegedly be used only for analysing developed countries.

An adherent of Marxist methodology, African scholar E. Enangon in his article "On Senghor's Philosophy, or Philosophical Swindling for Consumption of African Peoples" resolutely defends Marxism, noting justly that L. S. Senghor did not create this "new philosophy", but merely borrowed ideas from H. Bergson, P. Teilhard de Chardin, and others, arranging them in a confused form. In philosophy he tries to find a "third way" between materialism and idealism; in politics he attempts to reconcile socialism with capitalism. In turn, S. S. Adotevi, a philosopher from Benin, in his study *Negritude and Negrologue*, maintains that Senghor labelled his convictions "socialism" only because of the popular strength of that term in Africa. In fact, such a "socialism" strives only to camouflage poverty and neocolonial exploitation, to draw the masses away from solutions to their real problems.

In the development of philosophical thought in Tropical Africa the questions of the methodological role of philosophy, especially the philosophy of Marxism, are of foremost significance. Thus, the Senegalese scholar Amadi Ali Dieng in his book *Hegel, Marx, Engels et les problèmes de l'Afrique noire* (Dakar, 1978) summons African Marxists to a

discussion of the correlation between the general and the specific in Marxist methodology, to the study with its help of the societies, economies, and cultures of their countries. In the article "Que peut la philosophie?" Paulin Hountondji contends that only historical materialism is capable of exposing the true source of the "ideological fantasies" and determine their proper place, to formulate the laws of the origin and evolution of ideology, making clear the real relationships between the different spheres of the society's whole. Speaking at an international seminar of African philosophers in Cotonou (1978) where the role of philosophy in national development and in the decolonisation of society was hotly debated, P. Hountondji called for the endorsement of the "Marxist theoretical tradition", of "Marxist thinking, for analysing the present historical situation and its revolutionary transformations in the light of Marxism". "We must not", he said, "see in Marxism what was taught in the works of those who vulgarise Marxism in bourgeois universities. On the contrary, we must deepen our understanding of Marx and overcome the attempts to distort him."

Contemporary African philosophy sets before itself most important problems. African philosophers justly affirm that contemporary African philosophy need no longer indulge the exotic tastes of Europeans by means of its investigations of the "ontology of the Bantu" or the "metaphysics of the Dogon", etc., but must finally return to meet the present demands of the African peoples, who want to be widely informed about what happens on other continents, but most importantly, who await from philosophers the profound interpretation of their own reality. ■

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INTERNATIONAL

PRC PRESS CITED ON CONCERN OVER CONTINUING HIGH POPULATION GROWTH

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 5-6

[Article by Vladimir Kurbatov, candidate of economic sciences: "Demographic Factors in the PRC (A Review of the Chinese Press)"]

[Text]

China's third national census ever was held in 1982, and its results showed that on July 1, 1982 the population of mainland China numbered 1,008,175,288, and increase of 313,593,529 (nearly 45.15 per cent) over the 1964 census with its 694,581,759 registered. Annually, the natural increment constituted an average of 17,421,863, or 2.1 per cent a year.

The census results confirmed the PRC leadership's concern over the excessively rapid rate of population growth.

As early as the 1950s, Chinese scientists pointed out the serious shifts in the demographic processes triggered by the victory of the people's revolution.

Old China's reproduction pattern was characterised by high birth and mortality rates (3.89 and 2.76 per cent respectively) and a low natural increment (1.13 per cent). Moreover, in the last hundred years (since 1840) it was only 0.26 per cent. Following the formation of the PRC, the birth rate remained high (approximately 3.7 per cent), the mortality rate registered a noticeable drop (to 1.7 per cent), while natural increment went up to over 2 per cent. The population problem began attracting attention of the public and the scientific community. In particular, Ma Yinchu, a prominent economist and Rector of Peking University, put forward a "new population theory" which suggested the introduction of birth control.

In 1955, speaking at a session of the National People's Congress, he claimed that the PRC could no longer afford an anarchic population growth rate. A planned economy called for a planned birth rate. "Now, pressured by a population of 640,000,000, and given the need to raise its material and cultural levels", he said, "we find our forces overstrained. If another 13 million are born each year, this problem will gain in gravity with each passing day, and no one knows how serious it will become".

Ma Yinchu suggested raising the marriage age, giving wide publicity to contraceptives, and using administrative methods of birth control.

However, his theory was rejected and condemned as Malthusian. Other theories prevailed, such as the "human hands theory" and "the more people the better" theory, since, it was claimed, a man had, not only one mouth, but also two hands and could produce more than he needed to sustain himself. Therefore, continual population growth was not to be feared, but on the contrary, people were the country's main capital.

Many of Ma Yinchu's critics thoughtlessly repeated the phrase, "a big population is a great wealth", so there was

practically no question of birth control. Whereas the first of China's demographic explosions was registered in the mid-1950s, the second one lasted from 1962 to 1971.

In the late 1970s, Chinese scientists produced models of possible demographic situations which showed the following. If, beginning in 1980, each woman gave birth to only one child, the population would continue to grow for another 25 years; if 1.5 children were born, it would be 47 years before stability could be achieved, and for 2 children it would be 72 years. The population would number 1,217,000,000 by the year 2000, and would top 1,500,000,000 by 2049, the year marking the 100th anniversary of the formation of the PRC.

These forecasts have prompted the PRC's leaders to put forward the task of bringing down the natural increment to 0.5 per cent by 1985 and to zero by the year 2000. In late 1982, an instruction was issued saying that the population should not grow beyond the 1,060 million mark by 1985.

The Chinese leaders, particularly Chen Muhua, Deputy Prime Minister and formerly chairman of the governmental committee for family planning, admit that this is a hard and exceedingly complex problem. For people born during the demographic explosions are reaching the marriageable age in these years. This peak is now only attaining its highest point, while the birth peak is expected after 1987. Thus, according to the Chinese demographers, the coming 20 years are a key period for coping with the strategic task of birth control; in addition, there will surely be a birth peak during these years. This is what the obvious contradiction consists in.

Estimates show that for the population to be kept at the 1,200,000,000 level by the year 2000, the annual increment must not exceed 10,370,000. At the same time, young people will be reaching marriageable age at the rate of 11 million couples a year.

Speaking to delegates of the all-China conference on planned birth rate in August 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang said that birth control is a policy that would have to be pursued for a long time to come. The government was working on a long-term plan of economic and social development including an important project which envisages the restraint of the natural increment of population. The new PRC Constitution, adopted on December 4, says that the "state promotes family planning so that population growth will match the plans of economic and social development". Shortly after the new Constitution was endorsed, the National People's Congress delegates proposed a draft law on birth control authorising the PRC leaders to take new measures on a national scale.

The Chinese leaders hold that population growth can be restrained only if every married couple confines itself to one child. This target is being discussed in many publications which give various points of view to corroborate the importance, necessity, and advantage of having only one child per family.

According to the Chinese press, there are 120,000,000 women in the PRC in reproductive age. Between 1981 and 1985, over 80,000,000 men and women will reach marriageable age. Therefore, claim the Chinese demographers, it is important that women who have children should not give birth to any more, and the rest should confine themselves to only one child. The press reports that many young couples want to have only one child. By the autumn of 1983, the number of such couples had reached 15,000,000. A campaign publicising late marriages and late childbirths is in full swing and abortions and other medical operations are a widespread practice. According to an April 1981 Xinhua report, these totalled 210,000,000 between 1971 and 1979. The CPC Central Committee's open letter of September 26, 1980, stressed that owing to their efforts, at least 56,000,000 fewer babies were born between 1971 and 1979.

In the early 1980s, a number of provinces have produced a series of concrete proposals for encouraging families that

have only one child, and for taking measures against those who violate the prescribed birth quotas. Thus, on July 28, 1981, the Shanghai local government adopted a decree whereby parents having only one child were granted five yuan in monthly allowance and given priority in using creche and kindergarten facilities. They were also given the right to a higher old age pension (within a five-per-cent limit).

So far, the Chinese press says, the birth control campaign is running up against definite difficulties, particularly in the countryside, which accounts for 80 per cent of the country's population. The Chinese peasantry have a long-standing tradition of male lineage, which is an offshoot of their religious concepts. They also seek to have many children as this was considered the best security in old age. The Chinese press admitted that "a shortage of male workforce in the countryside might have an unfavourable effect on the rural family's earnings and bring down its living standards posing a real problem".

Some specialists believe that it is necessary to study in advance what the social consequences of the one family-one child arrangement might be. This will entail changes in the family composition as well as in relations within the family. The share of older age groups will go up, while the only child might be pampered to excess by its parents, etc. The one-child family will give rise to a new situation and new problems, and specialists are aware that these must be studied now for possible ways of solving them to be found in time.

Chinese economists believe that rapid population growth gives rise to a multitude of problems. According to Guo Yunpu, it frustrates many years of efforts of the Chinese people and is in "sharp contradiction with the development of national economy and culture". It has created obstacles to higher living standards, that are hardly possible to overcome. Recent years have seen a noticeable rise in grain yields, notes Liu Zheng, but per capita grain production remains at the level of 630 *jins*. The workforce is growing, but the country so far cannot provide everyone with a job. In the 1980s, an annual workforce increment will amount to 23,000,000 on the average.

Many Chinese specialists note that the growth rates of workforce considerably outstrip the pace of production development. Industry is capable of absorbing as much as 10 per cent of the new workforce, while most workers can be used only in agriculture. It is common knowledge, wrote Sun Yefang, that during industrialisation, part of the rural population normally moves to the cities. However, in the last 20 years, educated young people have been sent to rural and mountainous areas, that is, a process was underway to convert part of the urban population into rural dwellers. The cities were not only unable to provide jobs for the workforce which soared as a result of natural reproduction processes, but had to settle the employment problem of a part of their population by sending them to the countryside.

Despite the outflow of part of the population to rural areas, the cities are becoming increasingly overpopulated, and the living conditions, as compared with the 1950s, are markedly worse, the Chinese press writes.

According to statistics for 182 Chinese cities, in the late 1970s, there were 3.6 square metres of living space per city dweller, whereas in 1952, the figure was 4.5 square metres. Notably, in Peking, one-third of the families do not have flats of their own, while a half live in dwellings in need of repair.

The countryside, likewise, is experiencing a bad housing shortage. There are over 800,000,000 peasants in China, of which over 100,000,000, according to the *Zhongguo qingnian bao*, "have acute housing problems".

In the last 30 years, the PRC's rural population more than doubled, whereas the arable areas decreased, after 1957, by approximately 12,000,000 hectares. As a result, the average plot of arable land per peasant has become noticeably smaller. Today, there are less than 5 *mu*² per able-bodied agricultural worker. Arable land per citizen has decreased markedly. In 1949, there was an average of 2.7 *mu* per citizen.

In 1957, despite the fact that the country's arable land was considerably extended, there were 2.6 *mu* per capita; today the figure is approximately 1.5 *mu*, and by the year 2000 it is expected to be 1.3 *mu*.

The natural resources available to Chinese agriculture are enormous, writes Qin Lisheng, but per capita there is only 1.5 *mu* of arable land, whereas the corresponding worldwide figure is 5.5 *mu*. The forest area per capita in China is 1.8 *mu* compared with 15 *mu* worldwide; the steppe area is correspondingly 5.3 *mu* and 11.4 *mu*, or less than a half. Each citizen is entitled to only 2,700 cubic metres of water, or slightly more than a quarter of the per capita index worldwide.

Accordingly, the per capita consumption of agricultural produce is also much less. In particular, *Renmin ribao* gave the following figures (the world average is in brackets): in 1978, the per capita consumption of cotton in the PRC was 4.6 jins—(20 jins), cooking oil—3.5 jins (30 jins), sugar—4.7 jins (over 40 jins), and meat—16.5 jins (47 jins).

Meanwhile, the country's population continues to grow much more rapidly than predicted. The central papers warn: "There is a danger that by the year 2000, the PRC's population will exceed 1,300,000,000". Meanwhile, according to estimates, China will be able to provide only 1,200,000,000 people with food and basic necessities by that time.

¹ 1 *jin* equals 0.5 kilogram.

² 1 *mu* equals $\frac{1}{15}$ hectare.

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INTERNATIONAL

IMPERIALISM AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: EVOLUTION OF MUTUAL RELATIONS

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 7-10, 15

[Article by Viktor Kremenjuk, doctor of historical sciences, and Vladimir Lukin, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text]

Political relations between the developed capitalist states and the newly-free countries are an integral part of the general system of international ties, within the framework of which these relations take their definite place, subordinate to the regularities inherent in the system as a whole. This is why, however specific and independent the ties between industrialised capitalist countries and young states are, in the final count, they are part and parcel of the structure of modern international relations in its entity. Within the framework of this structure the determining part is played by the struggle between the two opposing world systems—socialism and capitalism, the mounting of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, the consolidation of the positions of world socialist community and the national liberation movement, and greater instability of capitalism.

The inclusion of the two groups of states, one of which unites (including literally, i. e., through the system of military blocs and economic organisations) the developed capitalist countries, and the other—the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (which also are included in different regional organisations and groupings) into a general system of international relations, creates objective conditions under which the ties between the two groups of states are capable of undergoing evolution much faster than it could be expected if one proceeds only from the alignment of forces between these groups.

Outwardly this alignment of forces is obviously not in favour of the newly-free countries. In 1970 about 70 per cent of the world population lived in the developing world, much more than in the developed capitalist states in this period.

At the same time, the developing countries accounted for only 9 per cent of the world industrial output, whereas the industrial capitalist states accounted for 51 per cent. In the world capitalist market the developed countries account for the overwhelming part of foreign trade: their share in the aggregate export of the non-socialist world in 1950-1970 edged up from 66 per cent in 1950 to 76.1 per cent in 1960 and to 80.6 per cent in 1970. This tendency was also observed in the 1970s. In spite of the relative nature of such indicator as the GNP per capita, it nevertheless demonstrates a tremendous gap in the levels of development: \$170 per capita in 37 least developed countries of the non-socialist world, \$1,140 in 54 medium developed countries and \$6,980 in 18 most developed capitalist powers.

The indices of the two group of states, as regards their "physical" military possibilities are also incomparable. The developed capitalist powers, NATO members, were spending about \$180 billion a year for military purposes by the end of the 1970s, while the newly-free countries were spending close to \$50 billion. The USA, Great Britain and France possess their own nuclear weapons, and South Africa and Israel, the "sub-imperialist" powers, have come close to possessing them. From among the developing countries only India tested a nuclear device in 1974 but, according to the data available, it does not possess nuclear weapons. Imperialist powers, above all the USA, Great Britain, and France, have a broad system of military presence in the zone of the developing world. Military presence of the young states beyond the boundaries of their national territories is out of the question.

Thus, having examined the alignment of forces between the two groups of states, it is clear that as far as their military-economic potential, technical and financial possibilities, and the cultural and social levels are concerned, the industrialised countries are much far ahead the newly-free states, and this is the main reason for unequal relations between them.

Yet, as has already been mentioned, the ties between the two groups of states are part of a more general system of international relations. Within the framework of the latter system other factors are in operation which basically create conditions for qualitative changes in the real situation and the alignment of forces in the international arena.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR became factors of prime significance, which determine the growth of the scope of the liberation, anti-imperialist movement in the former colonial and dependent countries. Yuri Andropov,

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted at the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU: "Trying to overcome economic backwardness, these countries need equitable international cooperation and lasting peace. Many of them see in the ties with the countries of socialism a means for strengthening their independence."

As the policy of imperialism and neocolonialism suffered one setback after another in the struggle against the national liberation movements, some Western bourgeois theorists attempted to explain these setbacks by some "specifics" which allegedly prevent developed powers from defeating militarily the "backward societies". These "specifics", however, did not prevent imperialism in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century from suppressing uprisings in colonies and subordinating new countries and peoples to their domination. The impossibility of preserving the former alignment of forces under contemporary conditions is explained by the fact that world socialism, communist and workers' movement in capitalist countries restrain the potentials of imperialism, make it give prime attention to the protection of its class positions and, therefore, render impossible the use of all available forces in the struggle against the national liberation movement. Moreover, these factors operate both at the stage of the struggle waged by the peoples for the winning of national independence and after its winning.

Of special importance in this respect are the processes of international detente which occurred as a result of influencing the world politics by the forces of established socialism and the world workers' and communist movement. Under detente the possibilities of the national liberation movements in the developing countries to score successes in the struggle for their legitimate rights have grown immeasurably.

The processes of detente enabled the developing countries to undertake attempts to eliminate inequality in economic relations with the capitalist powers, and raise the question of a revision in the existing world economic order.

The alignment of forces between socialism and capitalism which is constantly changing in favour of the new world is a decisive factor of world politics, actively influencing the political relations between imperialism and the developing world. As a result, despite the existing and even partially increasing economic, military, technical and other superiority of imperialism over the newly-free countries, the political role of the latter is growing steadily, rendering assistance in the struggle of the young states for their legitimate rights.

The great number of the developing countries, enabling them to exert impact on the voting in the UN and other international agencies in their interests, their solidarity, making it possible for them to use their international weight in raising and resolving tasks bearing on their vital interests, and, finally, their role in the world economic ties, where they act as suppliers of important types of raw materials, are becoming an important factor in their relations with imperialism. Relying on cooperation with world socialism and taking into account the alignment of forces in the international arena, the newly-free countries are basically able to act independently and oppose imperialism on a whole number of problems of world politics and economics.

Consequently, the present-day system of relations between imperialist powers and developing countries is a result of a complicated interlacing of objective factors and their subjective awareness, the proof of the specific features inherent in the current phase in the development of young states. Finally, this system is a result of the imperialist global strategy aimed at confrontation with socialist states.

On the one hand, there is no doubt that a tremendous impact on the character and evolution of political relations between the imperialist and the newly-free countries is exerted by the still existing status of the latter as the dependent part of the world capitalist economy. This "basic" dependence which has not yet been overcome narrows the spectrum of their economic possibilities, makes the progressive shifts in their socio-political orientation not so solid and not so guaranteed as could have been the case under different conditions, and acts as the most essential external factor in their chronic political instability.

On the other hand, not isolated, but actually the global character of these relations serves as the most important structural element in the present-day phase of relations between imperialism and the developing countries. Communication along the "imperialism—developing countries" line presents only one, though extremely important direction in the complicated system of relations "socialism—imperialism—developing countries". Within the framework of these relationship each move from one end inevitably presupposes a corresponding response from the other end: This factor exerts major influence on the previously unshakeable correlation between economic dependence of the newly-free countries on imperialism and the character of their political ties.

It is not so much the matter of direct economic assistance given by socialist states to the developing countries (though such aid is of increasing importance), as the political influence along the lines "socialism—imperialism" and "socialism—developing countries". In these conditions the developing countries have obtained a greater opportunity for manoeuvring in their relations with imperialism, than it could occur under bilateral ties. Since this structure of relations is stable enough, the tendency of a resolute withdrawal of a number of the newly-free countries beyond the boundaries of the imperialist sphere of gravitation politically (though economic dependence on imperialism has been preserved to a considerable extent) proves at this stage an ever more stable, constant, and law-governed phenomenon.

The relations between the two groups of countries undergo evolution in this concrete historical, international, political and social context. Of course, one should take into account not only the different potentials of these groups, but also their socio-political heterogeneity. All the contradictions dividing imperialist powers in economics and politics notwithstanding, they still represent a socially homogeneous group adhering to a single view of historical prospects, united by the ideology of anti-communism, and recognising the leading role of the United States, the greatest power of the capitalist world, while the developing countries in this respect are quite a different phenomenon. Embracing in their ranks about 120 states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, they, at the same time, are highly heterogeneous economically and politically.

Countries of socialist orientation are most dynamic and consistent among them. Together with countries of the socialist community in the zone of the national liberation movement—Vietnam, the DPRK, Cuba and Laos—the states of socialist orientation take an active part in the nonaligned movement uniting the overwhelming majority of the developing countries.

The capitalist system became preminent in some countries which freed themselves from colonial or semi-colonial domination, but the aggressive policy of sway and diktat pursued by imperialist powers runs counter to their objective interests. Striving to overcome economic backwardness, these countries require equitable international cooperation and lasting peace.

Finally, among the developing states there are such, whose orientation is not quite clear at the moment. They are at the stage of development when the process of initial national consolidation has not yet been completed in them (some countries of Africa and Oceania).

Hence, the developing countries present a complicated and heterogeneous conglomerate of states located in different areas of the world, being at different stages and levels of development, adhering to most diverse ideologies, different political orientation and often being hostile to each other. This fact undoubtedly allows imperialism to pursue a policy spearheaded at splitting the newly-free countries, isolating the states of socialist orientation, and imposing its conditions on the countries of capitalist orientation.

However complicated may be the situation in the developing world, in the macrostructure of the world politics and economics, within the context of the struggle between the two world systems, the newly-free countries represent a relatively stable group of states characterised by a specific social and political similarity, clearly formulating their views on the problems of relations between the two world systems and taking a specific place in the current processes of international affairs.

The urge not to see an integral international magnitude in the developing countries but to regard them as a "background" against which the confrontation of the two world systems takes place has recently become a widespread error among Western bourgeois theorists. Here, the international role of the young states is reduced only to playing up the contradictions between the great powers. At the junction of the 1970s and 1980s this view ceased to be as popular as before, though the scholars who abandoned it continue to maintain that the chief characteristic feature of the developing countries is their unwillingness to follow "existing examples of the first or the second worlds" [of capitalism or socialism.—*Auth.*].

Although Western theorists may underestimate the international role of the newly-free countries, it is clear that the young states are an antagonist to imperialism because their national statehood grew as a negation of its colonial system. In the course of the fierce political, diplomatic and military struggle they secured independence (or greater independence if we mean the previously formally independent countries) and are now acting as sovereign participants in the international community, discharging their right of subjects of that community to political likes and dislikes, as well as raising the problems of politics and economics they are interested in.

There are two contradictory factors which traditionally draw attention in the approach of the imperialist powers to the developing countries.

On the one hand, imperialism is interested in a firm merger of the main bulk of the newly-free countries with the world capitalist system and in

strengthening in them the capitalist mode of production. This is the most common and long-term interest of the ruling quarters of imperialist powers. Competing with each other for influence on various developing countries or a group of these countries, imperialist powers simultaneously take into account their common interests and are seeking to shift them to the level of concrete political practice. This tendency was especially salient in the 1970s when the possibilities for imperialist expansion in the zone of the developing world shrunk sharply and, at the same time, the stimuli for such expansion increased.

On the other hand, the imperialist powers treat with apprehension and suspicion the emergence of new potential competitors in the world market, and also of new centres of power and influence in the political sphere.

By and large, these two different, though somewhat interconnected approaches, exhaust the political arsenal of imperialism in its relations with the developing countries. Their existence shows that the ruling quarters of the imperialist powers have not and cannot have a uniform concept for attaining the abovementioned relations. There are groupings which regard diktat and force to be the most acceptable form of relations with the developing countries. Spokesmen of these quarters hold that the capitalist world may be threatened by "de-hierarchisation" and "anarchy" if the entire lot of young states, or at least, their major part, is not kept in subordination. Under these conditions, the leading imperialist powers, the USA above all, may lose their leading positions and simultaneously, the opportunities for exploiting the developing countries. This will entail the weakening of the entire system, and the officials adhering to such a stand regard as natural the continuation of the policy of military pressure, economic enslavement and political diktat.

More cautious political theorists who are inclined to reckon with realities to a greater extent, reject such views. They argue that the process of national self-determination of the former colonial periphery has as its positive outcome the entry into the international arena of such potentially influential force as the national bourgeoisie of the former colonies, which seized the state machinery. During the entire postwar period the constant shuffling of approaches depending on the alignment of forces in the international arena, the level and state of relations between the developed capitalist powers and the alterations in the political line of these powers themselves occurred in the policies of imperialism vis-à-vis the national liberation movement and the developing countries.

The strengthening of positions of socialism in the world arena and the upsurge of the national liberation revolution in the first half of the 1960s compelled the United States, the leader and the coordinator of the imperialism's global strategy, to look for the first time at the developing countries as a highly specific international and political phenomenon, requiring a special approach, making it possible to "respond flexibly" to the specific features of the given phenomenon. This was the beginning of the concept of "intercepting revolutions" based on the faith in the unbounded possibilities of modern imperialism to turn the traditional societies of the developing countries into societies of relatively developed, though dependent capitalism by means of a series of social, financial, economic and military measures.

If the concept of the "intercepting revolutions" marked a sharp enhancement of the role of the developing countries in the global strategy of imperialism and turned them into a bridgehead of the battle which was supposed to play almost a decisive role in the outcome of the struggle between two world systems, the so-called "multipolar strategy", on the contrary, lowered the role assigned to the newly-free countries in the global strategy of imperialism. The questions linked with the strengthening and developing the principal centres of capitalism and organising more "mature" relations between them were set forth as a fundamental task.

From the very first years after winning independence, however, the developing countries were seeking to take place in the world arena deserving of sovereign states, and find methods to achieve this. The nonaligned movement became the avenue for political unity of the newly-free countries and the foundation for their joint actions from anti-imperialist positions. Joint diplomacy of the developing countries, relying on that movement and their interstate organisations (the Organisation of African Unity, the Arab League, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and so on) were an efficient instrument in the struggle for their rights. It should be pointed out that decisions on all major international problems were adopted in the UN with the active participation of the young states.

Of course, it is not always that the young states succeed in implementing the decisions passed in the UN because of the resistance put up by imperialism. In a number of cases they fail to preserve for long the unity of their ranks. At the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly the overwhelming majority of the developing countries supported the idea of establishing a new international economic order, while at the next,

Seventh Special Session, the imperialist powers with the help of agreements concluded with Iran and Saudi Arabia in 1974-1975 managed to neutralise some newly-free countries and undermine the efficiency of the pressures brought to bear by the entire bloc of the developing countries.

Large-scale deliveries of modern weapons serve as a means enabling imperialism to find common language with the leaders of a number of young states.

The problem of armaments in the developing countries is extremely acute. Many of them won independence in the course of fierce struggle, and after winning it the pressure on the part of imperialist quarters has not subsided. The military pressures from imperialism, neocolonialism, Zionism and racism on the newly-free states make them take legitimate measures to protect themselves. It is noteworthy, however, that the imperialist powers most willingly supply with armaments conservative regimes in whose policies militaristic and aggressive tendencies can be traced. Imperialism, by encouraging the arms race in the developing countries, is seeking to make use of the growing instability in their relations. The number of conflicts between separate newly-free countries, which has recently increased, undoubtedly supports hopes of the ruling quarters of imperialism to work for defeating or "destabilising" progressive forces. Among such conflicts are those between Somalia and Ethiopia, Iran and Iraq, Thailand and Kampuchea, Morocco and Algeria, Zaire and Angola and so on.

The prospect of nuclear proliferation is of special significance, from the viewpoint of international security. The assistance of Western monopolies and secret services of imperialist powers to the "unobtrusive" proliferation of nuclear weapons, including by means of deliveries of nuclear technology to some young states, makes possible the emergence of these weapons in some "near-nuclear" countries, including Israel, South Africa, Pakistan and Taiwan.

Imperialism, by whipping up tensions in the developing world, is going out of its way to convert it into a zone of its confrontation with a world of socialism. The intrigues of imperialism not only block the implementation of the development plans of the newly-free states but are also fraught with a threat to peace on Earth. In these conditions the struggle for peace, disarmament and frustration of designs cherished by the reactionary circles in Western countries are of great importance for the peoples, including the peoples of the developing countries. ■

INTERNATIONAL

U.S.-S. KOREAN-JAPANESE MILITARY COOPERATION SEEN THREATENING ASIA

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 11-12

[Yuriy Lugovskoy article: "The Pentagon's Fist over Asia"]

[Text]

President Reagan's trip to Japan and South Korea last November is of an importance that goes far beyond the boundaries of bilateral relations between the US and these countries, and even beyond the boundaries of the given region. This stems mainly from the fact that the policy of the Reagan administration, which aims at speeding up the arms race and at aggressive preparations, has become most far-reaching, casting an ominous shadow on the situation in the Far East.

Washington considers this region the Pentagon's strategic zone, second in importance only to Western Europe. American military strategists are devising all sorts of plans to turn the Far East into a staging area for the deployment of American forward-based nuclear weapons both sea- and ground-launched. It is primarily Japan and South Korea that are to serve as the base for deploying nuclear missiles.

This is the guiding principle of the US in developing relations with these countries. Military and strategic aspects were in the centre of attention during negotiations conducted by the US President in Tokyo and Seoul. Great importance was attached to establishing and further developing military cooperation between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul, a triple alliance moulded under US auspices.

Bilateral contacts have already found expression in the Japanese-American "security treaty" and a ramified system of military agreements between the US and the Seoul dictatorship. Washington has been making extra efforts of late to establish close military cooperation between Tokyo and Seoul. This was one of the main purposes of the President's trip.

The outcome of his talks show that the plans for structuring a militarist alliance in the Far East have entered a decisive stage. This strategy jeopardises the entire world, for the base of aggression developed in East Asia is directed not only against the Soviet Union, Mongolia and North Korea, but also against all countries in the zone of the Asian national liberation movement. As it is, Washington's ultimate purpose is to structure an eastern flank for NATO.

Japan and South Korea are already sufficiently involved in the Pentagon's dangerous preparations. In the light of the

President's visit to these countries, it can be safely stated that we are now witnessing their direct linkage to the strategic fabric of American imperialism not only in Asia but throughout the world. Among other things, this has already enabled the Pentagon to move a substantial portion of its naval and air force from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean, where the US Fifth Fleet is stationed and a ramified network of American military bases has been set up.

From the outset Reagan's visit was conceived and planned as an action of far-reaching importance to the understanding of the goals of US Asian policy. Once in Asia, the President expounded the principles of the "new Asian doctrine" designed to set down the guidelines of Washington's Asian policy, to reinforce the influence of the US as a leading power in the Pacific that was undermined by the abortive aggression in Indochina, and to review its allies. Reagan put an end once and for all to speculation, connected with the "Vietnam syndrome", that the US would "withdraw from Asia", in particular from South Korea. He gave a warning to the national liberation movement on the continent in no uncertain terms that Washington would deal with it from a "position of strength".

The direct American interference in Lebanon, the Pentagon's fist on the Indian Ocean, the arming of Pakistan, the establishment of a network of bases along the entire of Asia, from Japan to the Persian Gulf, and other facts corroborate this conclusion. Under Reagan the US has in fact pursued an aggressive foreign policy and has gone on the warpath against all developing countries. Grenada's tragedy is a clear example of American policy towards the emerging states.

To quote Akahata, the US President came to Japan after his hands had been stained with the blood of the innocent victims of the American aggression in Grenada, which the overwhelming majority of UN members denounced and from which even many of the US allies dissociated themselves, and when a fresh impulse had been given all over the world to the movement against the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe and against a new round of the arms race. Frankly speaking, Reagan was hard put to choose another itinerary for his journey, confronted with such moral and political ostracism.

It was, perhaps, only in Tokyo and Seoul that he could hope to meet with sympathy and it was only there that the red carpet was rolled out for Reagan by the local authorities. Prime Minister Nakasone spoke about their "understanding" of the reasons for the US aggression against Grenada, confirming in this way that the principle "what is good for the US is good for Japan" began outweighing all the other considerations in Japanese diplomacy. This exception, however, has proved little. Most of the Japanese are against this collusion. That the Reagan administration found itself in deep moral and political isolation was confirmed by the fact that the President had to cancel his visit to the Philippines, which was swept by stormy anti-American demonstrations. Along with the Philippines visit, stops in Indonesia and Thailand had to be cut from the his trip.

Despite the forced shortening of Reagan's itinerary, the trip's goals remained the same. Many of the points Reagan

intended to make in South east Asian capitals had to be inserted in the speeches made in Tokyo and Seoul. They showed on the whole that the US was still bent on relying on Japan and South Korea in its imperialist policy in Asia.

The role these allies are to play in American strategic plans is most diverse. To begin with, the Japanese Islands and South Korea are of interest to Washington as a resupply base for the US Seventh Fleet and as a base for deploying a large contingent of US troops. As many as 50,000 American soldiers are stationed in Japan at more than 140 installations, 32 of which are considered to be the largest outside the US. Nuclear weapons have also been brought to Japan.

A 42,000 strong American occupation force is deployed in South Korea, and major military bases have been built in Pusan, Kunsan, Tegu, Kwangju and other places. Seven hundred American nuclear charges in the form of bombs, mines, artillery shells and missile warheads have been accumulated there. The Pentagon is also planning to deploy neutron bombs in South Korea. American F-16 fighter-bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons have also been deployed in South Korea. As is seen, among the US military groupings stationed abroad the given one is second only to that deployed in Western Europe, as far as its numerical strength and potential are concerned.

Second, American military strategists view Japan and South Korea as a staging post from which rapid deployment force units can carry out punitive expeditions against the national liberation movement in Asia. This is corroborated by the fact that the bunkers at the Yokosuka Port house the headquarters to direct the operations of the Seventh Fleet on the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Third, Washington wants to involve Japan into these operations, forcing its militarisation and gradually preparing conditions for engaging the Japanese "Self Defence Force" in large-scale operations in the Pacific.

The Japanese "Self Defence Force" has 260,000 servicemen and a structure designed for their speedy expansion. Today Japan's armed forces rank sixth in the capitalist world as to their potential. The Pentagon also regards the 600,000-men South Korean army as mercenaries.

Here is one more consideration. In recent months the US has developed heightened interest in acquiring the latest Japanese technology for military purposes, which the Japanese side is willing to share. On November 8 an agreement was signed in Tokyo, as a sort of present to the US President who was to arrive on the following day. Japan's ruling elite took this step, despite the 1976 parliamentary bill banning arms export and the transfer of military technology to other countries.

It is only natural that American-Japanese relations are being increasingly referred to as an "alliance" in Washington and Tokyo. Needless to say, it is not a matter of some linguistic subtleties. The use of the word "alliance" with reference to Japanese-American relations means that they are equated to the commitments binding the US to its NATO allies.

The comparison is not accidental, either. Japan's official representatives have more than once visited NATO headquarters in Brussels, and "consultations" are now regularly

held between representatives of the Japanese Defence Agency (JDA) and NATO officials. They do not confine themselves to coordinating Japan's policy with NATO: information has leaked to the Japanese press that the Japanese government is testing the waters about assuming the status of NATO's "associate member".

The aspirations of NATO sympathisers in Tokyo meet with complete understanding in the US. Addressing the Congress with a report on the Pentagon's plans for fiscal 1984, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said that in the American plans of military confrontation with the Soviet Union Japan was to play a role similar to that of the NATO countries. In this way plans are being drawn up to expand the structure of NATO as a global mechanism of aggression against the world of socialism by adding to it Japan and through it South Korea, which would bolster NATO's Far Eastern flank. By the way things have progressed far beyond "headquarters manoeuvres". For example, beginning with 1980 the Japanese naval and air forces have regularly been taking part in NATO's Rimpac naval exercises in the Pacific.

Japan's further integration with NATO envisages casting Japan as a guardian and patron of the Seoul regime. Following Washington's recommendations, Nakasone was the first post-war Japanese prime minister to visit Seoul. Japan has given aid to the Seoul dictator regime to the tune of \$4 billion, most of which is intended to build up South Korea's military potential and to bolster the Pentagon's influence there.


The programme of Japan's "NATOisation" was fairly precisely outlined during Prime Minister Nakasone's visit to the US in January 1983. At that time Nakasone compared Japan to an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and reiterated that the Japanese Navy was to patrol the Pacific a thousand miles away from Tokyo. The Japanese Navy is known to regularly take part in the Rimpac exercises, which were held near Hawaii at a distance of more than 3,000 miles from Japan.

How far the JDA is ready to go has already been demonstrated by its agreement to block, together with the US and South Korean fleets, in case of "emergency" the La Perouse, Korea and Tsugaru Straits, which connect the Sea of Japan with the ocean. The word "emergency" implies the need to repel a "threat from the north", that is, from the Soviet Union. As for the control over the straits in the southern seas, the Japanese brass is going to establish it under the pretext of ensuring "freedom of navigation" for Japanese tankers transporting oil from the Persian Gulf and Indonesia.

Japan's "NATOisation" is becoming ever more odious. Reagan's visit demonstrated that the US is seeking to use the Japanese Islands to an ever larger extent for the deployment of American forward-based nuclear weapons. A recently-published Pentagon report named Japan and South Korea without reservations "the more suitable candidates" for the deployment of cruise missiles. The press has also made it known that American military strategists are contemplating the deployment of long-range ground-based cruise missiles on Japanese and South Korean territory by 1986.

In the wake of President Reagan's visit to Japan one may surmise that American-Japanese relations are increasingly shifting towards militarisation, which in itself is fraught with new complications of the international situation in Asia and other parts of the world. It is highly dubious that a military alliance with the US should indeed guarantee Japan's security or protect the vital interests of that country, which is highly dependent on imports of oil and other raw materials as well as on markets in Asia. The selfish calculations, of the US are not the only thing to be taken into account.

The drawing of Japan and South Korea into the Pentagon's plans increases the danger of an armed conflict or of other international complications. President Reagan is so enthusiastic about. It should be borne in mind that the American strategists view the "aircraft carrier", chosen by Nakasone as an example to demonstrate Japan's role in its relations with the US, as an offensive weapon. Given the adventurist inclinations of the present American administration, it can be stated that this subordination of Japan and South Korea to Washington's imperial ambitions defies the interests of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world.



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MARX CITED ON POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF BRITISH COLONIALISM IN INDIA

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 16-19

[Article by Erik Komarov, candidate of economic sciences: "India: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow--Forecasting the Future"]

[Text]

Marx and Lenin showed that the colonial system of plunder and violence had been an offspring of capitalism, the last exploiter social formation, and of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. It follows that if, as a result of the development of capitalism, the material prerequisites are created and socio-political forces emerged, above all the working class, necessary for a socialist transformation of society, the forces of national liberation and social transformation are inevitably coming to life and growing in the course of exploitation by capitalist powers of colonies and dependencies. That was, first and foremost, the meaning of the dialectical discovery by Marx of the significance of the phenomenon in the middle of the 19th century, which he called "the future results of British rule in India", and of Lenin's analysis of the consequences of "capitalist production... being transplanted to the colonies" and dependencies early in the 20th century.

Marx, while denouncing the British rule in India, which he called a true blood-letting and crying affair, showed that Britain played with respect to India the role of an unconscious instrument of history, a twofold role, namely, a "destructive" one, since the colonial exploitation undermined the precapitalist relations which prevailed in the country, and "creative" one because with the aim of carrying out the colonial exploitation and supporting its domination, British rulers were forced to create some prerequisites for bourgeois development, which Marx called the "new elements of society" in India of 1853. Marx pointed to the extreme inconsistency between the huge scope of destruction and the in-

consequential scale of bourgeois progress under colonialism. He wrote that the "work of regeneration" of the colonial rulers "hardly transpires through a heap of ruins", and that the loss of the old world without acquisition of a new one makes the calamities from which India's inhabitants were suffering especially depressive.

Marx showed that the elements of modernisation of the precapitalist society in India which were introduced by colonial power¹ turned out to be limited and deeply distorted primarily because they served the interests of India's exploitation and national enslavement rather than the requirements of its own development.

Socially colonial modernisation inevitably became purely elite. Beginning in the 19th century, it spread, to some extent, only to the propertied classes, giving rise to a bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. Together they accounted for a tiny share of population, while the overwhelming majority remained at the level of the Middle Ages in view of the conditions of their existence.

Yet "the new elements of society" in colonial India inevitably became a factor of the upsurge of the national liberation movement and largely due to the latter got their own development in spite of the colonial rule.

¹ What is meant here is the political unification of the country and recruitment of Indians as soldiers to the colonial army based along modern lines, freedom of the press and contemporary education, definite forms of private property of land and bourgeois law in general, railways and regular sea communication with Europe.

Political (state) unity, although incomplete, still served as a factor in the development of the national liberation movement on an all-India scale. This movement prepared conditions for the real unity of the country on a democratic basis, which could be implemented only given the elimination of the British rule.

Land was mainly the property of big landowners who exploited peasants by feudal or semi-feudal methods.

The resistance of peasants to such exploitation contributed to the undermining of the medieval system in the Indian countryside and thereby to the further mounting of the anti-feudal struggle waged by peasants, which played an important part in the development of the national liberation movement.

India's involvement in world capitalist trade, occurring as a result of its exploitation as a market for British commodities and as a source of raw materials, and burgeoning due to the building of railways and steamship navigation, started the disintegration of medieval society in India, the formation of classes in bourgeois society—the working class, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. This served as the prime condition for the rise of an organised national liberation movement. Modern education and freedom of the press promoted national awakening and led to the formation, as Marx put it, of "a fresh class... endowed with the requirements for government and imbued with European science". The emerging national intelligentsia provided leaders for the liberation movement, vehicles and propagandists of the progressive ideas whom Lenin called in 1908 "democratic publicists" and "political leaders" of the people in India.

Of course, this in no way eliminated the negative consequences of the purely elite character of modern education and the press and the elite modernisation in general in colonial India. Elite modernisation intensified the predominance of the propertied classes, especially the bourgeois upper crust, over the popular masses. Their awakening and emancipation from medieval humility began later and were accomplishing much slower. Nevertheless, it was precisely the awakening of the popular masses which occurred as a result of the socio-economic changes in colonial India itself and of the impact of the world revolutionary process that, in the final analysis, foretold the victory of the liberation movement.

As a rule, the shifts which Marx foresaw in 1853 as the "future results of the British rule in India" evidently made themselves felt many decades later, in the 20th century. At least one of them very soon told on the national

resistance to the colonial yoke and later played an important role in the very achievement of independence by India. With dialectical discernment Marx saw in the army which was formed by the country's colonial rulers (an Indian could not attain a higher rank than the so-called native non-commissioned officer) not only an instrument of enslavement, but also a "sine qua non of Indian self-emancipation". Only four years later, in 1857, the uprising of Indian soldiers (sepoys) supported by population in some areas seriously shattered the British rule.

The uprising of 1857-1859 became a most important manifestation of popular resistance to foreign domination in India in the 19th century. In 1857, Marx wrote that the sepoy army became "the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of". At the same time he pointed out: "It is a curious quid pro quo to expect an Indian revolt to assume the features of a European revolution".

Actually, the 1857-1859 uprising was a popular revolt of the medieval type, though it apparently had new elements which were in one way or another connected with the military organisation of the sepoys, though it was only partially modern.

Nevertheless, that uprising struck a blow at the British rule and at the feudal order in the country. The rebels destroyed taxation departments which at a time were an important instrument of the colonial and feudal exploitation, drove away new landlords and usurers, who, under the auspices of the British rule, enslaved the countryside, exploited peasants by the old feudal methods but even more cruel than before. The uprising compelled the British authorities to reduce the essentially feudal tax exploitation of the countryside and to pass for the first time legislation on leases. The developments of 1857-1859 sparked the social development of the country and became a milestone in the modern history of India.

Afterwards, the colonial rulers sought, in every possible way, to isolate the army from the mounting national liberation movement. Nonetheless, the liberation tendencies which were increasing in the country with the growth of the movement finally began to penetrate the army, especially after the World War II. At that time the uprising of Indian sailors, the unrest in the army in 1946, and the unprecedented upswing of the strike movement of workers and other mass actions forced the imperialist rulers to be in a hurry to leave India. It was then that Marx's prophecy about

the inevitable liberation of India came true.

Early in the 20th century in India, as in the whole world, a new situation was emerging rapidly, which differed from that examined by Marx. World capitalism had entered its imperialist stage. The world's first socialist revolution was already ripening in Russia. An organised national liberation movement was gaining strength in India and in a number of other colonial and dependent countries of the East.

Like Marx, Lenin dialectically analysed the consequences of colonial exploitation in the new historical period, i.e., the transition of capitalism to its imperialist stage. At the same time he characterised the role of capitalist powers in relation to colonies, including the role of Britain in relation to India, not as "twofold" but as reactionary.

The development of colonial exploitation not only undermined feudal and other precapitalist relations in the colonies and dependent countries, as was the case in the preceding period, but also paved the way for the emergence of capitalism proper in those countries as well. At the same time, Lenin in 1914 called it an "undoubted fact" that the conditions for the "widest and speediest growth of capitalism have been created... only in an independent national state".

India became an object of colonial exploitation earlier than many other Eastern countries and on a broader scope, first by methods of industrial capitalism and then by imperialist methods. Lenin wrote that in Asia almost up to the end of the 19th century only India and a small national outlying area were linked with the world market. This was a result of India's turning into a market for British commodities and a source of raw materials, which began back in the first half of the 19th century, and then of the imports of British capital to India since the second half of the 19th century. During the same period factory-and-works industry came into being in India, and colonial capitalist cities started to grow. On the eve of World War I the number of industrial workers (mainly textile workers), miners and railwaymen amounted to almost one million, and by the time of achieving independence the figure had surged to nearly three million, with the total population equalling 360 million.

In creating certain prerequisites for the emergence of bourgeois relationship and implanting in India capi-

talist production by means of exporting capital,² the entire system of British colonial rule was increasingly becoming an obstacle to social progress in the country. That was precisely the dialectics of social development in colonial conditions discovered by Marx and Lenin.

When the factory-and-works industry arose in India, the hampering role of the colonial rule was making itself felt not only in acquiring growing colonial taxes, but also in dominating the Indian market by British capital.

As is known, modern industry emerged in India as a result of investments of British capital; at the same time the turning of the Indian market into one for selling British commodities blocked the development of national industry, which found itself dependent on the British deliveries of equipment and technology, to say nothing about the political control by the colonial authorities. This predetermined a complicated set of contradictions and links of the emerging Indian bourgeoisie with foreign capital and its power.

Later it was becoming increasingly clear that the industrial development in a country like India (and its socio-economic development in general) required protection not only of the young national industry but also and above all of branches of industry belonging to the public sector. This would foremostly run counter to the interests of British capital, which worked for the preservation of India's economic dependence and backwardness. Meanwhile, the country's backwardness was becoming increasingly intolerable and, using Lenin's words (1913), an objective necessity appeared in a "rapid and resolute advance".

It required the creation of the public sector in the key branches of industry, and, under the influence of the industrialisation in the Soviet Union, the National Congress made a statement in 1931 on that score. This task began to be implemented as a state-capitalist policy when India won independence.

The British rule became an obstacle to social progress due to the very colonial exploitation (acquisition of material means without any compensation) and direct hindrance to the industrial development, as well as due to the fact that colonial rule hampered social

² Here we mean the building of industrial enterprises which belong to Englishmen and also the delivery of equipment to the enterprises which belong to Indian factory owners on condition of participating in their profits.

reforms which were increasingly necessary with the disintegration of feudal relations and the development of bourgeois ones.

Being predetermined by that process, the national liberation movement as a force of social progress turned inevitably not only against the colonial power itself, but also against the domination of the feudal and landowner class in the countryside, against vestiges of feudalism. Landowners, especially the aristocracy from among the landlords and princes were becoming reliable allies and most stable social support for the colonial authorities who, in turn, ensured preservation of their privileges and the continuation of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. For example, in 1910, when the National Congress had already demanded self-government for India (but not yet independence) one of the biggest landowners stated: "We zamindars know that our interests and the interests of the government coincide. Both the government and we will exist or perish together. We have nothing to be afraid of under the protection of British rule, but we shall have to be afraid very much if this force ceases to hold a dominating position."

Thus, Marx's words about the "social revolution" in India as a result of the establishment of colonial power of the British bourgeoisie which replaced the rule of local feudals apparently should be understood as the beginning of the modernisation of the medieval society. When the British bourgeoisie—the colonial conqueror—carried it out, it was guided by "the vilest interests", i.e., the interests of exploitation and subordination of the country. As bourgeois relations were developing in India itself, colonial rule was increasingly becoming an obstacle to social progress, although bourgeois, and its role was turning from "twofold" into reactionary, and this, in the final analysis, predetermined the collapse of the colonial regime.

Early in the 20th century the repressive policy as regards the surging national liberation movements, and also the support to the local conservative forces directly brought to light the reactionary role played by the imperialist powers. Stressing that fact, Lenin wrote in 1913 that the imperialist bourgeoisie supported "reaction" in Asia in furtherance of the selfish aims of the financial manipulators and capitalist swindlers" [Lenin's emphasis]. In 1915, he also noted: "In China, Persia, India and other dependent countries... we have seen during the past decades a policy of rousing tens and hundreds of millions of people to a national life, of their liberation from the reactionary 'Great Powers' oppression."

The emergence of the national liberation movement in colonies and dependencies was regarded by Lenin primarily as a transition of "old rebellions", i.e., the actions of the medieval type, into a conscious democratic movement. Lenin attached great significance to the awakening of the working masses, their leaving the "medieval stagnation", that is, emancipation from century-old humiliation. In his article "The Awakening of Asia" (1912) he wrote about the beginning of the struggle for democracy by millions of people in the East.

In India where the industrial proletariat existed already by the beginning of the 20th century, the strikes by factory workers and railwaymen were naturally connected with the upsurge of the liberation movement, and were the first large-scale manifestations of the mass political struggle against colonial rule. For example, the 1908 general strike in Bombay in protest of the trial by the colonial court of the progressive national leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the culmination of the first upsurge of the liberation struggle in 1905-1908. In his statements on India Lenin said more than once the significance of the emergence of the industrial proletariat and of its involvement in the liberation struggle. In connection with the 1908 general strike in Bombay, he wrote: "In India, too, the proletariat has already developed to conscious political mass struggle—and, that being the case, the Russian-style British regime in India is doomed". Indians were becoming strong enough to put an end to the colonial autocracy and, as Marx predicted, to throw off for good the British yoke. In 1908, Lenin also pointed to the prospect of including the emerging working class of the colonies and dependent countries in the international working class movement. He wrote that "the class-conscious European worker now has comrades in Asia, and their number will grow by leaps and bounds".

Attaching paramount significance to the awakening and political activation of the popular masses, Lenin praised the national leaders whose activities contributed to that. In 1908, he called Tilak an "Indian democrat". As M. N. Roy recollects, Lenin maintained that Gandhi, who inspired and led the anti-imperialist movement, played a revolutionary role.

After the victory of the Great October Revolution which created increasingly favourable international conditions for the liberation struggle of the peoples of colonies and dependencies, and also opened up for them a socialist prospect of social progress, Lenin called on the progressive forces

and communists "to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organisation regardless of the level they have reached". He also pointed to the need of a joint struggle by all anti-imperialist forces. Addressing the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin (according to the records), noted the need for the Indian communists "to support the bourgeois-democratic movement, without merging with it".

Lenin saw in the national liberation movement of India, as well as of other colonies and dependencies, an ally of Soviet Russia, the world's first socialist state. Back in 1916, i.e., on the eve of the triumph of the Great October Revolution, he outlined the task of supporting the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed peoples against imperialism by the future socialist state and of giving them selfless assistance in the transition "to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labour, ... to socialism". In 1920, he noted with satisfaction "a ready response among progressive Indians, who are waging a heroic fight for freedom" to the victory of the Great October Revolution. He also stated that the "working masses of Russia are following with unflagging attention the awakening of the Indian workers and peasants". At the same time Lenin foresaw not only the national liberation of the peoples of the East, but also their active participation in the worldwide development. This foresight of Lenin's began to come true in our day and age, and the important positive role now played by India in international affairs corroborates it among other things.

More than a century ago Marx prophesied two versions of India's national emancipation. He wrote that the rebirth of India, which he called a "great and interesting country" will not set in "till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till Hindoos themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether". Socialist revolution has not won in Britain but it took place in Russia. Having put an end to the world imperialist domination, the Great October Socialist Revolution became the major factor in creating qualitatively new international conditions which are favourable to growth and triumph of the national liberation movement in colonies and dependencies, India included, as well as to the strengthening of national independence. In the long course of development of the national liberation movement Indians acquired strength for their emancipation, and the winning of independence by India actually marked the beginning of the collapse of imperialism's colonial system.

Time has come for the rebirth of this great and interesting country, as Marx called it. It was carried out in the course of the popular struggle for a complete elimination of colonial and feudal heritage, for the strengthening of independence and social progress, against neocolonialist encroachments and aggressive pressures by imperialism. It has been generally recognised that the march of India along the road of national rebirth is promoted by mutually beneficial Indian-Soviet cooperation, which has become an important factor of peace in Asia and elsewhere.

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INTERNATIONAL

INDIAN PROGRESS, PROBLEMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE SURVEYED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 20-24

[Boris Chekhonin article: "National Holiday of the Indian People"]

[Text]

On January 26, 1950 India, which shortly before that date had won political independence in the struggle against the British colonial rule, was proclaimed a republic. I remember Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta of those years. The young republic inherited a grim legacy from the colonial past. Poverty and inhuman conditions in towns were startling. People died of hunger right in the street. For many millions of homeless streets served as night's lodgings. Lepers and sick followed passers-by at every turn hoping that someone would toss a coin to them.

India has changed a lot since then. Its towns have grown more beautiful, its economy has advanced noticeably. Here are some hallmarks of progress distinguishing India's entry into the 34th anniversary since the proclamation of the republic. India today has firmly secured for itself a position among 10 leading countries of the world in the volume of its industrial output. The former British colony has scored such impressive gains thanks to economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. Enterprises built with its help turn out now 80 per cent of the entire metallurgical equipment, 70 per cent of oil, 35 per cent of steel, one-third of the products of the oil-refining industry and one-fifth of the electricity produced in the country. Cooperation with the Soviet Union is aimed, first and foremost, at consolidating the public sector in the Indian economy, which plays a decisive role in the country's life. Thanks to the achievements in the economy and in the system of health services, the average life expectancy has increased by more than 20 years. The achievements in agriculture are also impressive.

Yet, one cannot paint the broad panorama of present-day Indian realities in bright colours

alone. While advancing forward the country continues to encounter quite a few serious problems—grave left-overs of the colonial past. Forty-six per cent of its population lives today below the so-called "official poverty line", when a family has to subsist on the daily income of less than one rupee per member. The army of unemployed exceeds 20 million people.

This list of gloomy figures can be continued. But it's not these figures that determine India's today and tomorrow. You come to realise this when you observe the everyday life of Indians, say, in a rapidly growing town such as Gaziabad, in the vicinity of Delhi.

It seems that from times immemorial nothing has changed in the old part of the town, near the Delhi Gates. For many years the narrow market street has been squeezed from both sides by numerous shops; loaded donkeys drag themselves along it; fruits sprinkled with water for protection shimmer in the sun on trays; children crowd around the toy seller and thin cows chew paper sadly. These are all scenes, however, gradually receding into the past. The old is giving way to signs of the new. Sometimes they please your eye: it's when you see most up-to-date tractors made in Gaziabad, and sometimes they give you an unpleasant feeling. "Is there a strike at your enterprise?" asks a man in a paramilitary uniform from a huge poster. "We'll help to put it down. Apply to a special agency of Atul Kumar." Well, one cannot expect a new life to be unvarying. Incidentally, this kind of novelty in Gaziabad is no longer unusual. Over the years of independence, the once small market town has grown into an industrial centre where labour disputes happen rather often.

"Once there were only a few handicraft shops in our town. Today it boasts one and a half thousand big, medium-size and small enterprises", explains R. K. Sharma, a municipality official who accompanied us. "The variety of industrial products is wide, ranging from soft drinks to most sophisticated machines. Over the years of independence the population of Gaziabad has trebled. A total of 160,000 people live in its industrial belt today. We take pride in the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru was the first to put forward the idea of turning our town into Delhi's industrial satellite," he observes.

It's true, the accomplishments of Gaziabad are closely associated with the name of India's great son. This is why each time when its residents mark the anniversary of the republic they always arrange an exhibition featuring the life and activities of the first Prime Minister of independent India.

While in Gaziabad you see for yourself that the movement for friendship with the Soviet Union in that town has grown to enjoy a massive support. The local branch of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCS) has several thousand members in its ranks. This is quite a lot for an industrial town, small by Indian standards. The society consists of 12 collective members: the staffs of the tractor and textile factories, of the brewery, of schools and peasant cooperatives from near-by villages.

"I have been in the movement for friendship with the Soviet Union since 1953," admits the secretary-general of the Gaziabad ISCS branch Ram Tirat Gupta. "It has seen many changes since then. At first the number of people who came to our meetings and gatherings was rather small. Today everything looks different. Any function associated with the Soviet Union assumes a mass character almost automatically." What has brought about such a striking change? R. T. Gupta believes that the tremendous scale of economic cooperation between the two countries is not the only factor. The Soviet Union has proved by its deeds that it has always been on India's side, either in its happy or difficult hour. Isn't the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation signed on August 9, 1971 proof of this? It helps strengthen peace in the South Asian subcontinent and in Asia as a whole.

"Would you like to hear about activities of our collective members, their achievements and problems?" asks R. T. Gupta. We say that we would be willing to. In half an hour our car stopped near a stone fence not far away from the town. This is a high school of the Dukhai village. At the gate we were met by the headmistress Madam Shukla Kad. It was unbearably suffocating inside the low stone school structures. So, after peering in we joined the schoolchildren who together with their teachers studied outdoors, under thick crowns of trees.

"Our school," the headmistress said, "has been a collective member of the ISCS for many years. I've been to the Soviet Union more than once. I'll always remember my visits to the Bahadur Shastri secondary school in Tashkent where Hindi is taught, to a children's summer camp in Kiev and to many other places. I try to apply to Indian realities the useful things that I've learned in your country."

In the opinion of Madam Shukla Kad the Indira Gandhi government does much to promote the system of people's education. Yet quite a few unresolved problems remain. The entire system of general school education has not yet been thought out well enough. The study process copies

the former grammar school pattern. Schoolchildren are given a certain amount of knowledge but no one prepares them for practical activities or thinks about the need to give them, along with theoretical knowledge, some practical training, an opportunity to learn some profession.

"Let's take the study process in the Soviet Union," Madam Kad says. "In the last few years vocational training has become widespread in your country. Secondary school graduates are ready for work. They master the skills of drivers, turners, rural mechanics, seamstresses or cooks. We haven't come to that stage yet."

Madam Kad thinks that there is yet another problem, and that is that schools are still furnished inadequately with scientific equipment. There is a shortage of necessary equipment for studying physics or chemistry. There are few laboratories. This is why state-run secondary school graduates at times lack sufficient knowledge for entering universities. They often fail the entrance exams since their knowledge is worse than that of their peers finishing private schools where tuition is paid.

It's true, the government increases its allocations for schools every year. One can see this in the example of the school in Dukhai. Back in 1959 it was an 8-grade school. Now it is a high school with a 12-year term of schooling. It has a staff of 35 teachers and 1,000 pupils. The school provides hostel accommodation for pupils coming from other towns. Madam Shukla Kad and her associates, however, are determined to turn the Dukhai school into an even bigger training centre. One of their objectives is to set up a special college for girls—daughters of peasants from nearby villages. Its modern building will house laboratories, a library and a gym.

Madam Shukla Kad has one more ambition—to make the Dukhai high school a centre of the literacy campaign in Gaziabad and its vicinity.

"The policy of the Indira Gandhi government in the field of education," she said, "is already showing results. Illiteracy has been reduced from 90 to 64 per cent. But we still have far to go to achieve 100 per cent literacy. We realise that it is impossible to build a modern industrial foundation when the bulk of the workers cannot read and write. On the other hand, if we want to see a sharp rise in our literacy standards, we must have certain economic conditions for that. For example, we cannot expand the network of literacy courses run by the school since we have no money for hiring buses. After a 14-hour work day peasants will never agree to walk to attend the course.

"To overcome illiteracy," the headmistress said, "is an indispensable condition for the success of the government's family planning programme." Living in India you come to understand how acute this problem is. Here are some figures to illustrate the violent demographic explosion in the country. Every one and a half second a child is born in the country. The population grows by a total of 13 million a year. India was the first among other countries to introduce a system of birth control. Yet, the population growth rate remains high. If the same rate continues, one billion people will be living in India by the year of 2 000, that is, one out of every 6 people in the world (and today this is one out of every 7) will be an Indian.

The "demographic explosion" is a brake on the solution of some serious social and economic problems. It slows down efforts aimed at dealing with unemployment, in the first place, and with a continuing drop in the living standards of millions upon millions of Indians. It has been estimated that the current rate of population growth demands that one thousand classrooms, one thousand hospital wards and 10 thousand flats should be built in the country every day. Naturally, the task is not an easy one even for an economically advanced country.

"How do the teachers of the Dukhai school help carry through the family planning programme?" Madam Kad repeated our question. "Indirectly, by actively promoting the literacy campaign and directly by delivering lectures to peasants on the advantage of having a 4-member family—the parents and two children."

Does this propaganda work? Not so much, thinks the elder of the village of Basant-pur-Saintli—an associate member of the Gaziabad branch of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society.

"I personally have seven children," he says. "Other peasant families have no less."

Is there any reason for that? Paradoxically enough, the reasons are purely economical. It's difficult to feed a family which has only 0.4 hectare of the land at its disposal. The house and the land can be maintained only when grown up children go to town in search of a living. With luck some will be able to support the father. The more sons the family has, the higher the chance. This is the vicious circle that it is not so easy to break for the government family planning programme.

There is another 20-point government programme that is designed to help the poor peasants to find an answer. This is a set of measures for combating poverty and bettering the situation of the poorly provided sections of the population.

The programme was adopted in January 1982 to replace a similar programme that had had the same name and that the government of the Indian National Congress had been putting into effect before 1977.

"How is it being carried through in your village?" we ask the elder. "Fairly well," he says after a moment's thought. "But we think even more crucial measures are required. Of the 455 families," he said, "only 35 were provided with the land after the system of zamindars had been abolished. The costs of diesel fuel, chemical fertilizers and industrial goods rise quickly. But almost no increases are made in the procurement prices of wheat, rice or sugar cane. This difference in prices hits painfully the interests of the farmers and slows down the development of agriculture."

"And what is the main obstacle, in your opinion?"

"The small size of land holdings, in the first place. With the majority of peasants it does not exceed 0,4 hectare. And secondly, the slow implementation of the land reform."

The Indian press, too, writes about these obstacles standing in the way of the realisation of the 20-point programme. Landowners are sabotaging in every possible way the introduction into daily life of the government laws on the agrarian reform.

The 20-point programme sets the task of completing the introduction of the land reform by 1985. The newspaper *Hindustan Times* points out, however, that even when the reform is carried through, the absolute majority of peasants will still be short of land.

While staying in the Basant-pur-Saintli village you realise once again that India is a complicated country which cannot be understood at a go, so to speak. Take the caste system, for instance, this survival of the old times. Though this system has been abolished officially, old outrageous prejudices are still strong. Of the 455 families in the village of Basant-pur-Saintli, 75 are the families of harijans. These people are allowed to live only in a place specially assigned for them. They cannot drink water from one well with other villagers. Rich farmers and landowners see nothing wrong in offending a harijan or in ousting him from his land.

One interview with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has stuck in my memory.

"India has friendly relations with many," she told me reflectively. "We'd like our friendship to grow all the time, to cover more and more countries. And yet our friendship with the Soviet Union stands apart. It's not only because the

Soviet Union came to India's help on many occasions, but also because the Indians appreciate fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union in the work of strengthening international security, preventing the threat of war and halting the arms race."

Peace, security and detente—are things needed by both the Soviet Union and India. Their two peoples face many common great tasks. This is, among others, the building of better societies, of more prosperous economies and the ensurance of a further rise in the standard of well-being. It's not accidental, therefore, that new Soviet initiatives advanced by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, have evoked broad response in India. The Indian public regards them as an indispensable condition of the progress of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva and as an alternative to the unrestrained arms race pushing mankind to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The broader sections of the Indian public welcome the proposal contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation member countries. It calls for signing an agreement on the mutual non-use of military force and for maintaining relations of peace between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The Indian public highly regards yet another important Soviet initiative. This is the Soviet Union's unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear arms. India fully shares the desire of the Soviet Union and other peaceloving states to work to make a reality the United Nations Declaration announcing the Indian Ocean area a zone of peace.

India strongly condemns any manifestations of colonialism, racial inequality, discrimination or interference in the affairs of sovereign countries. Stemming from this position are such moves of the Indian government as the recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the support of Vietnam and Laos, and the search for a political settlement of the situation involving Afghanistan. Significantly, at their conference in Delhi in March 1983 the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries unanimously elected Indira Gandhi chairwoman of the nonaligned movement.

The public in the Soviet Union pays tribute to the accomplishments of India's foreign policy of peace. By pursuing such a policy this great country makes no small contribution to the efforts designed to further peace, freedom and security of the peoples.

The Soviet people welcome from the bottom of their hearts the national holiday of the Indian people who are bound with the Soviet Union by the ties of time-tested friendship. ■

INTERNATIONAL

NEED FOR SOVIET ARMED MIGHT TO PRESERVE PEACE STRESSED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 26-29, 34

[Article by Professor Mikhail Yasyukov, major general and doctor of philosophical sciences, under the rubric: "USSR: Socialism in Action": "Protecting the Peace and Security of All Peoples"]

[Text]

Sixteen years remain before the point separating the second from the third millennia A. D. And these years may become the most dramatic ones in mankind's history: the danger of a world nuclear war which outgoing imperialism is capable of unleashing in the 1980s and 1990s is growing, because imperialism has in its hands the most terrible weapons of mass destruction in history, the use of which may result in the total extinction of life on our planet. In these conditions it is not enough to yearn for the preservation of peace. It is necessary to struggle tirelessly for it, to struggle against the forces of war and devastation which are threatening it. The peoples of the world are by far not indifferent to the destiny of the present and coming generations of human beings and they want to and must see clearly the factors that are capable of protecting life on earth, of becoming an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a possible nuclear catastrophe. One of the most important of these factors is the existence of the Soviet armed forces, an army of a new type in the history of mankind called upon to defend the gains of social progress, the peace and security not only of countries of the socialist community but, in accordance with the profound logic of world civilisation's development, the very existence of the human race as well.

Here it is imperative to clearly see the cardinal distinctions between the armed forces of socialist and imperialist countries which are determined, first and foremost, by the fundamental polarity of the two systems—socialism and capitalism, the power of the people and the power of capital. Many pacifists, that is people who in principle consciously reject any violence, often do not understand that the aggressor's armed violence can and must be resisted only by the organised force of the advanced class, of the state, that moral condemnation alone of the aggressor is not enough for putting an end to aggressions and dissolving armies. The grim experience of history teaches that an aggressor can be kept in check only by depriving it of any hope of winning a war.

But, alas, the reactionary classes, and this is also evidenced by experience of history, by far not always follow the advice of reason. V. I. Lenin noted that when one stands on the brink of a precipice one is not given to clear thinking. The history of imperialism abounds in military adventures that cost mankind dearly. Progress in the 20th century, incorporated first of all in real socialism, in the liquidation of the colonial system, in the assertion of human living conditions for hundreds of millions of working people, has been paid for by the lives of

millions of organised fighters for the freedom and happiness of men of labour. And the Soviet armed forces hold a worthy place in these class battles of the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is said that to know what the word "day" means one must know at least what night is. The historically progressive role of the Soviet armed forces which came into being in February 1918 becomes particularly clear and understandable when a concrete comparison is made of the role and tasks of the Soviet Army and the armed forces of imperialist countries.

THE ANTI-PEOPLE CHARACTER OF IMPERIALIST ARMIES

The ruling classes in countries belonging to the exploiter socio-economic formations have always set up armies to protect their political and economic interests and privileges. Inside these countries the armies defended and continue to defend to this day the right of the ruling class to exploit the broad popular masses. Armies have ruthlessly suppressed revolutionary actions by working people, and have been bulwarks of reaction. An American military historian has estimated that in the period from 1900 to 1960 United States troops took part in more than 500 operations to suppress uprisings and excesses organised in their country by "communist agitators", to use a term adopted in the bourgeois press. The army was used against working people inside the United States especially frequently in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1965-1967 alone the armed forces were used in suppressing about a hundred mass actions, including anti-war demonstrations, during which 130 persons were killed and 3,600 injured, according to official data.

In the international arena the armies of exploiter states also serve as an obedient tool of the policy of expansion, plunder and brigandage. A whole epoch of wars is behind them—in Asia, Africa and Latin America where excellently armed soldiers slaughtered with their artillery and machine guns the peaceful population and poorly armed soldiers of the countries subjected to attack.

The imperialist armies have a long record of wars for the recarving of captured and dependent territories. In other words, the armies of the exploiter classes, and first of all the imperialist armies, are a force alien and hostile to the popular masses both inside their own countries and outside them. And that exactly is what they are intended for, since they are an obedient instrument of oppressors, a means of preserving reactionary system and of blocking the revolutionary transformation of society. This social role of the imperialist armies determines the dislike for them of their own peoples, and quite often also the hatred and contempt of the broad popular masses in the whole world.

The military machine of imperialist countries has reached an unprecedented scale. It was already Frederick Engels who noted late in the 19th century that "militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe".¹ This tendency has reached its peak during the past century and now poses a mortal danger to the whole of mankind.

Speaking at the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Yuri Andropov noted that the aggressiveness of the ultra-reactionary forces headed by US imperialism had grown sharply of late, that attempts were being made to reverse the development of events at all cost. He added that this policy of the imperialists would not bring them success, but that by its adventurism it was extremely dangerous to mankind.

The armed forces of imperialist countries, first of all the United States, united in the NATO aggressive military bloc,

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 204.

are the main instrument of reactionary violence. The military-industrial complex in these states has become really gigantic. The property and capital now at the disposal of the military-industrial complex in the capitalist world was estimated in 1978 to add up to \$340 billion. Twenty-five million men are in uniform and 100 million people are engaged in military production. The total strength of the US armed forces consists of about 3 million servicemen and one million civilian employees. Within a single launch (sortie) the strategic offensive forces of the United States alone can put aloft more than 10,000 nuclear warheads with a yield ranging from 50 kilotons to 10 megatons (million tons) each. The US ground forces have at their disposal about 200 launchers of tactical missiles, 11,400 tanks, 12,000 artillery pieces and mortars, 16,600 launchers of guided anti-tank rockets, more than 5,000 anti-aircraft weapons, about 8,600 planes and helicopters of the Army aviation, 848 naval ships, including 20 aircraft carriers. Not being content with this might, the United States and its NATO allies drastically stepped up in the 1980s the pace of building up their military power. The phasing in of 100 new MX strategic ballistic missiles, of B-1B strategic bombers, cruise missiles, new Trident submarines, the launching of full-scale production of neutron weapons and, finally, the deployment in Western Europe of 572 medium-range Pershing-2 and cruise missiles—these are only some of the biggest steps taken by the United States to build up its aggressive military potential. In all, the United States plans to carry out more than 450 new arms programmes in the coming years.

It is important to take note of all this because the imperialist powers are intensifying the arms race under the smoke screen of totally false contentions about the supposed military superiority of the Soviet Union over the countries of the West and the military threat purportedly posed by the socialist states. It is apt here to recall the words said by V. I. Lenin as far back as 1921: "...If at the moment they cannot attack us with guns, they attack us with lies and slander."³ In reality there is no Soviet military threat and there cannot be such a threat because war as a phenomenon of human reality contradicts by its essence the very meaning of socialism's existence and development, its aims and perceptions. As to the military might of the world of socialism, in recent times many statesmen holding the highest posts, and not only of socialist but also of a number of capitalist countries, have noted more than once on the basis of statistics and facts that there is a military-strategic parity between the USA and the USSR, between NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries.

The strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism, as it was repeatedly noted in the documents and statements of the leading circles of the USSR, is one of the most important results of the Soviet state's activities in past decades. The attainment of this equilibrium required of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the other countries of the socialist community considerable effort and means, and they will not allow a disruption of this balance.

Being engaged in scaring the population of capitalist countries with the mythical Soviet military threat, bourgeois propaganda tries to conceal, to camouflage the aggressive nature of the imperialist armies, to portray them as defenders of the "free world", "Western democracy", etc. Patent examples are presented by the US venture in Vietnam or by Britain which demonstrated its "understanding" of democracy and freedom during the Falklands crisis of 1982.

In the same stride the armed forces of imperialist countries are falsely declared to be standing above classes, of supposedly being outside politics and ready to serve any government that lawfully comes to power. In reality, and this has been proved by history more than once, these armies serve capital and defend the interests of monopolies. Take the example of the tragedy in Chile, where the bourgeois army

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 159.

overthrew in 1973 the lawful republican Popular Unity government which came to power as a result of general elections. (It is indicative that behind the back of General Pinochet and his accomplices one could clearly see those who were the real instigators and perpetrators of the coup—people from the military and intelligence establishments of the United States who were zealously protecting the interests of American big business ten thousand kilometres away from the closest point of their own territory).

The imperialist armies are an obedient instrument of the class domination of monopoly bourgeoisie, an armed force alien to the peoples and opposed to them, an instrument of perpetuating obsolete capitalist systems and a weapon of struggle against the social renovation of the world.

AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL SELF-DEFENCE

The Soviet army differs drastically from the military organisation of imperialist countries by its origin, by its social essence and designation. The Soviet armed forces were born in the flames of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet army (then the Red Army) was created by the working class, the working people of Russia as their class military organisation, as an organ of the Soviet state called upon to defend the revolutionary gains of the working people, their fundamental interests from encroachments both by the internal counter-revolution and the foreign intervention.

The class nature of the Soviet armed forces is determined by the nature of the socialist state free of exploiter classes, by guidance by the Communist Party, which comprises the bed-rock basis of the organisation and development of the Soviet armed forces. By its class content the Soviet army is an army of the people, of the working masses whose interests are incompatible with any plunderous, unjust wars. And this is a very important fundamental moment needed for an objective study of the army's role in the structure of the entire Soviet society. The same position is applicable in many ways also when studying the army's place and significance in the life of many independent developing countries which won their freedom in the past decades in battles against imperialism and colonialism.

The history of the Soviet army shows that it has never waged unjust wars of conquest. Every war that the Soviet armed forces were compelled to wage was always a response to aggression, a forced war. Such was the case also in the years of the civil war and foreign intervention (1918-1920) when it routed the "white" army of counterrevolution and the troops of the interventionists (Britain, Germany, France, Japan, the United States and a number of other countries) on whose initiative military hostilities were started on the territory of revolutionary Russia. "World imperialism, that in reality brought about the Civil War in our country and is responsible for protracting it, has suffered defeat",¹ V. I. Lenin wrote at the time. In the 1920s and the 1930s the Red Army repulsed numerous attempts by imperialism to test the strength of the Soviet republic. The aggressive actions in the Far East of the Chinese militarists (1929) and the Japanese samurais in the area of Lake Khasan (1938) and on the River Halhyn-gol (1939) and in Europe of the Whiteguard Finns, who were sicked on the USSR by the German and West European imperialists (1939-1940), were successfully repulsed. In 1941 Hitler's fascist Germany perfidiously attacked the USSR. The Soviet Army had to shoulder the brunt of the struggle (especially in the most difficult period of 1941-1944) against the countries of the fascist bloc and militaristic Japan in the years of the Second World War (1939-1945). In the postwar period, already for almost forty years now, the Soviet armed forces stand guard over peace and by their might restrain the more aggressive

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 171.

forces of imperialism which hope by using all means, not excluding even nuclear war, to stop the march of history, to prevent further revolutionary changes in the world.

It is clear to any unprejudiced person that aggressive aims are alien to the Soviet armed forces as a socialist army, that the Soviet armed forces always and everywhere come out in defence of the class interests of the working people, were and are a bulwark of a just peace. It is stressed in the Constitution of the USSR that the Soviet armed forces have been formed for protecting the socialist gains and the peaceful labour of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of working people.

In order successfully to fulfil their tasks the Soviet armed forces are organised in accordance with modern demands of military science and practice and are capable of standing up to the strong armies of imperialist countries that have the latest weaponry and military hardware. The Communist Party and the Soviet state constantly see to it that the Soviet armed forces have the necessary military equipment, not inferior to that of the armies of NATO and other imperialist countries. As is known, in their attempts to achieve military-technical superiority over the USSR the imperialist circles of the United States are making the emphasis on strategic nuclear arms. But the strategic nuclear force created in the USSR is a mighty shield guaranteeing the security of the USSR, its state interests and the interests of the fraternal countries of socialism, of all peace-loving forces on earth. In his already quoted speech at the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Yuri Andropov declared that the Soviet state, the entire Soviet people will continue to do everything necessary to ensure the security of the Soviet Union, its friends and allies, will increase the combat might of the Soviet armed forces, a mighty factor of restraining the aggressive intentions of the imperialist reaction.

The fulfilment of this task presupposes the further perfection not only of the strategic nuclear forces but also of conventional armaments so as not to allow the aggressive armies to secure a superiority over the Soviet armed forces in this field as well. Armaments are being qualitatively improved, the standard of combat training of men in the army and navy is being further increased, and the forms and methods of conducting combat operations are being perfected. The combat potential of the Soviet armed forces is a firm alloy of excellent equipment, military skill and invincible morale. All this determines the high combat readiness of the Soviet armed forces to repulse any aggression, their ability to exert a favourable influence on processes leading to a stabilisation of the international situation, to the strengthening of peace on earth.

AN ARMY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

By its class composition the Soviet army differs cardinally from the imperialist armies. The soldiers and officers of the Soviet armed forces are part and parcel of the working people; between the officers and ordinary soldiers there are no class distinctions and antagonisms characteristic of imperialist armies. When the Soviet army was only being established its backbone was formed first and foremost by representatives of the working class. V. I. Lenin stressed that "only the proletariat can create the nucleus of a mighty revolutionary army, mighty both in its ideals, its discipline, its organisation, and in its heroism in the struggle..."⁴

In conditions of developed socialism and the state of the whole people, the Soviet armed forces, while retaining their class nature as an instrument of the socialist state, have acquired at the same time also the nature of an army of the entire people. All class restrictions regarding service in the armed forces, that used to exist while remnants of the

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 465.

overthrown exploiter classes remained in the country, have been lifted by now. The Soviet armed forces are an embodiment of the unity of class interests of all the social groups of a developed socialist society, the inviolable friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The revolutionary and military traditions that formed in the crucible of the Civil War (1918-1920) and the Great Patriotic War (as the war of the entire Soviet nation against German fascism in 1941-1945 is called in the USSR) are a source of strength of the Soviet army. Serving in the ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Motherland now are already the sons and grandsons of the heroes of past battles. They have not passed through the grim trials that fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers. But they are true to the martial traditions of the Soviet army and the Soviet people. And whenever it is demanded by the interests of the country's security, of protecting peace, when it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier appears in the eyes of the whole world as a noble and courageous internationalist profoundly understanding and realising his duty and his role in the complex international situation of the present-day world. And it is this position of the Soviet soldier as a firm defender of freedom and independence, of social development without wars and hatred, of the friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation of all men on earth that serves as a source of hope and optimism for all the peace-loving forces of mankind, for the peoples who have already won their freedom or are still fighting for it. This position of the Soviet soldier vigilantly standing guard over peaceful life in the world is a deterrent for those who to this day entertain hopes, vain but dangerous hopes for the very existence of civilisation, of forcibly changing the course of world history.

The Soviet armed forces are armed forces of the entire people and this manifests itself also in the fact that in conditions of developed socialism the state of the entire people no longer needs the use of the armed forces for suppressing counterrevolutionary forces inside the country because such forces have vanished in the USSR. The security service and the militia are now quite sufficient for coping with the separate anti-social phenomena which foreign imperialist centres are trying to revive to this day. The Soviet armed forces perform only foreign policy functions of defending socialist gains and social progress, and are a bulwark of peace on earth.

AN ARMY OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

As distinct from imperialist armies, based on principles of chauvinism and domination of other nations, the Soviet armed forces are an army of socialist internationalism, friendship and cooperation between peoples, of fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries.

This quality of the Soviet army, just as those which have already been mentioned, is a product of its class, social nature determined by the essence of the working class which is an international force. The well-known Marxist slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" is incorporated in the internationalist nature of the Soviet armed forces. Its manifestations are numerous. First of all, the Soviet armed forces have in their ranks representatives of more than 100 nations, large and small, inhabiting the USSR. They all are united by the ideas of proletarian solidarity, friendship of peoples, and their joint endeavour to build the new society. The equality of nations, the abolition of any manifestations of national and racial discrimination both in the country and specifically in the armed forces is a crucial source of their might. At the same time the army of the new type is a school of internationalism, a school in which servicemen have a chance to learn about the culture of all the nations of the USSR, an organisation facilitating the flourishing and drawing closer together of nations on the scale of countries of the socialist community. It is obvious that such an army, that educates its men in the spirit

of deep respect for the peoples of all countries, cannot be used for aggressive, unjust aims. More than that, Soviet soldiers condemn all social injustice, exploitation of man by man, oppression of one nation by another. For this reason the soldiers of socialist armies solidarise with the struggle of the working masses of all countries for their social and national liberation. As is known, in the 1930s Soviet volunteers fought in the ranks of the Republican army defending the Spanish republic from the counterrevolutionary insurgents of General Franco and the German and Italian interventionists. Also in the 1930s Soviet pilots fought in the sky over China against the Japanese militarists, helping the Chinese people uphold its country's independence. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet fightingmen lost their lives liberating the peoples of East European countries from fascist slavery. More than half a million Soviet soldiers fell for the freedom of Poland alone. In the postwar period, being true to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union has given allround assistance to the peoples of China, Korea, Arab countries, Cuba, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in their struggle for the assertion of progressive regimes. In 1979, responding to a request of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union sent to that country a limited contingent of its troops to help the Afghan people in its struggle against the forces of internal counterrevolution and international reaction. And wherever the Soviet soldier has to defend the ideals of social progress, he demonstrates model examples of fulfilment of his internationalist duty, of courage and heroism. It should be stressed that the Soviet government, and this is well known, has repeatedly stated throughout this period that the Soviet Union is ready to withdraw the limited contingent of its troops from Afghanistan in the event of a normalisation of the political situation around that independent and sovereign country.

In present-day conditions the Soviet Army and Navy are fulfilling the tasks of collective defence of socialism's gains together with the armies of the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Internationalism in the development of the Soviet armed forces is being enriched with new content. The comradeship-in-arms of the fraternal armies rests on joint experience of combat and political training, of educating servicemen. The class brothers have become brothers in arms serving the cause of peace and social progress.

As distinct from the armies of imperialist countries the Soviet armed forces live and develop in unbreakable unity with the daily life of the people.

Soldiers are also taking part in the solution of economic tasks: military builders have put up much housing, many cultural and economic projects, and have built thousands of kilometres of motor roads and railways. Soldiers make a big contribution to harvesting work and to the solution of other economic tasks. The unity of the people and the army expresses itself also in the diverse ties of sponsorship between work and military collectives: mutual visits, discussions, get-togethers, exchanges of amateur art concerts, etc. It is clear that an army that is so closely connected with the people, an army that is an embodiment of the people's hopes and aspirations cannot be an aggressive one. The interests of the people and aggression are polarities.

More than that, serving the interests of the people, the ideals of freedom, justice and humanism, the Soviet armed forces themselves are an active moulder of the individual who rejects oppression, exploitation and aggression. The Soviet army is an army of socialist humanism, faith in man, respect for him and concern for him. Humanism permeates the entire life of army collectives because the Soviet army is a carbon copy, an integral part of the humanistic nature of the Soviet form of government. At the same time socialist humanism includes hatred for enemies, for everything that oppresses, exploits and humiliates man.

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The Soviet armed forces are rightly called a school of political, military and moral education, a school of courage, industriousness, collectivism, organisation and discipline. In the course of training and education Soviet soldiers embrace the main values of our time: peace, socialism, social progress and friendship of peoples. And this determines their highest ideological, political and moral qualities that can exist only in a soldier of an army of a new type standing guard over peace and the security of peoples. ■

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SOVIET ROLE IN DPRK ECONOMIC PROGRESS SINCE KOREAN WAR LAUDED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 35-37

[Article by Ivan Bogdan under the rubric "In the Socialist Countries":
"DPRK--the Onward March"]

[Text] **F**or the Korean people, the Soviet Army's historical victory over Japanese militarism in 1945 paved the way for resurrecting their national statehood, for carrying out large-scale democratic and socialist reforms and, consequently, for sharply boosting material and cultural standards.

By routing the Kwantung Army and destroying the Japanese colonial regime, the Soviet troops gave political support to the progressive forces in North Korea and defended the emergent people's power from external and internal reaction. As Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the DPRK noted in November 1957, "the Soviet Army not only liberated Korea, but also protected the interests of the Korean people, which allowed them truly to enjoy the fruits of liberation".

The Soviet Union was the first to recognise the young republic and establish diplomatic relations with it. Afterwards, the DPRK exchanged diplomatic missions with other socialist countries.

In late 1948 the Soviet government, in keeping with the request of DPRK authorities for an immediate and simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, effected a total evacuation of Soviet troops, the very forces which had driven the Japanese occupionists out of Korea. The Soviet Union thereby showed its deep respect for the sovereign rights of the Korean people. The US government, however, acted quite differently. It pursued a course of dividing Korea and turning its southern part into a bridgehead of US hegemonic ambitions in the Far East. It refused to withdraw all its troops from South Korea, thus seriously hampering the country's reunifica-

tion along peaceful and democratic lines.

From colonialism North Korea inherited economic backwardness, devastation and poverty. Under the guidance of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) and with timely political and material assistance from the fraternal Soviet people, important progressive and democratic changes were effected in North Korea in the early years after liberation. Land reform was carried out, which helped to eradicate fully feudal landownership and the land lease system; lands confiscated from Japanese colonialists, Korean landlords and traitors were transferred to the farmers; industry, the means of transport and communication, banks and trading enterprises which belonged to Japanese occupationists and national traitors were nationalised; and laws on labour and equal rights for women were adopted.

These initial steps taken by the North Korean leaders fostered intensive economic and cultural construction. In 1949, the working people of the DPRK launched the first two-year plan of economic development. This plan was aimed at eliminating the colonial structure of the national economy, rehabilitating industry, raising growth rates in production, and improving the people's well-being.

Peaceful construction of socialism in the DPRK was interrupted in 1950 by the armed intervention started by the US and South Korean military. The American imperialists had counted on reversing the onward march of Korea by means of armed force. All the working people of the republic rallied round the WPK to oppose the aggressors. Soldiers of the Korean People's Army displayed mass heroism in the

face of an enemy that at times greatly surpassed them in manpower and materiel. This heroism was born of love for their socialist motherland, of the conviction that their cause was righteous. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries rendered the DPRK extensive moral, material, diplomatic and military support, which demonstrated once more that their cohesion and unity reinforced their power. Ultimately, the US was forced to give up its aggressive schemes and signed an armistice agreement in 1953.

The war cost the Korean people hundreds of thousands of lives. Many towns and villages lay in ruin. Nearly 8,700 industrial projects and 600,000 dwelling houses were destroyed. All in all, the economy suffered a damage estimated at 420,000 million won. The politicians in Washington believed that such losses were a heavy burden on the DPRK people's shoulders and that they would hamper its advance towards socialism for a long time.

But their hopes had not materialised. In those years, the working people of all the socialist countries displayed anew their internationalist solidarity with the people of North Korea. The Soviet Union gave gratis 292.5 million roubles to the DPRK to rehabilitate its ruined economy and also postponed payment of credits granted earlier. Large batches of Soviet machinery and equipment were sent to people's Korea as well as industrial raw materials and consumer goods. Specialists from the USSR and other socialist states were working shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people helping them to restore and build from the ground up major industrial projects and overcome the pernicious effects of the war.

Given the internationalist support of the fraternal countries, the working people of the DPRK demonstrated great labour heroism and successfully fulfilled the 1953-1956 economic rehabilitation plan, which called for the revival of the war-ravaged national economy, the creation of a firm material and technical basis, the improvement of people's well-being and topping the pre-war level of production both in industry and agriculture. All this ensured objective conditions for a higher stage in the building of socialism.

The Third Congress of the WPK (April 1956) declared the line towards socialist industrialisation as the main line of economic construction and the basis for a new upswing of the national economy. The tasks of the first stage of industrialisation were accomplished during the first five-year-plan period (1957-1961).

The achievements of the first five-year plan presented fresh evidence of

the great creative potential of the working masses under the party's correct leadership in implementing Lenin's plan of building socialism. The enhanced political consciousness of the working class resulted in the selfless labour of the masses. Large-scale capital construction was carried out in industry, with new branches being started, such as the machine-tool industry, automobile industry, tractor industry, instrument-making and others. Engineering registered a particularly rapid growth, ultimately becoming the country's key branch.

The upsurge in industry was coupled with positive changes in other spheres. Thus, cooperation of agriculture and socialist transformations in private industry and trade were completed late in 1958. The undivided sway of socialist relations that were established in the countryside were a powerful stimulus for the development of productive forces and for raising production in agriculture.

On the whole the five-year plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule, with the DPRK turning from a backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian state. This was the principal achievement of the period. The economic foundation built during those years provided a solid basis on which the country's present-day economy relies.

The completion of socialist industrialisation and an overall technological revolution were set forth as the Number One Task of the seven-year plan (1961-1967) at the Fourth Congress of the WPK (September 1961). The plan called for the solution of the cardinal problems of creating the material and technical basis of socialism and bolstering the standard of living even further.

In carrying out the seven-year plan, the DPRK faced a number of difficulties resulting, in particular, from the need to increase defence spending. Consequently, capital investments earmarked for economic development were reduced as against the planned figures and the term of the plan was prolonged to 1970.

However, the strenuous labour of Korean workers, farmers and intelligentsia in the 1960s brought about fresh successes in building socialism. The Fifth Congress of the WPK announced in November 1970 that the industrialisation programme had been fulfilled and that the DPRK had become a socialist industrialised state.

This marked a qualitatively new stage of development, that of an extensive construction of the material and technical basis of socialism. The attainment of this strategic goal got under way in the six-year-plan period (1971-1976) and continues in the current, seven-year period (1978-1984) of the republic's economic development.

Today, the DPRK is a country with a rather high economic potential which includes a diversified and dynamic industry, highly productive agriculture and a developed infrastructure. In the period from 1971 to 1979 alone the gross industrial output surged by 280 per cent (with an average annual growth rate of 15.9 per cent). The capital production rose by 290 per cent and the production of consumer goods zoomed by 270 per cent. At present, the republic produces 33,000 million kwh of electric power, 52.1 million tons of coal, 5.3 million tons of steel, 13.1 million tons of cement, 3-4 million tons of chemical fertilizers and 30,000-40,000 machine-tools.

DPRK's industry is highly diversified. Many of the branches emerged under people's power. A great achievement was the elimination of the lopsidedness in industry, with the share of domestic production of industrial raw materials reaching 75 per cent and that of machinery and equipment topping 98 per cent by the early 1980s.

The Koreans take particular pride in national engineering, which is now a key branch of heavy industry, providing 33.7 per cent of the total industrial output. Produced in the republic are complex machinery and equipment, such as 18-metre vertical lathes, 40-ton trucks, 300 hp bulldozers, 6,000-ton presses, vessels with a displacement of 20,000 tons, television equipment, means of automation, etc. The advanced engineering industry provides great opportunities for reconstructing the national economy and arming it with modern equipment.

Agriculture has also made great progress under people's power. Since all the main rice-growing areas were situated in the south of Korea before liberation, it was necessary to start up grain production from scratch. The growth of farm production was ensured through massive measures aimed at electrifying agricultural processes and improving the irrigation system (both were successfully completed to the extent envisaged by the plan) as well as extending the use of mechanical devices and chemicals.

One of the urgent tasks of socialist economic construction in the DPRK today is to satisfy in full the population's food requirements. Supplies into the countryside of modern farm machinery, such as rice-and maize-planting machines, grain harvesters, weeding machines, etc., have dramatically increased. By the end of the 1970s, there were already six-seven tractors per 100 hectares of arable land. Chemicalisation of farm production has also advanced noticeably. Thus, some 1.5 tons of chemical fertilizers were used per each hectare of cultivated land in 1979 and chemicals were

applied to combat weeds on an area of 97 per cent of all the paddies.

Another reserve of the growth of farm production is a large-scale development of salty soils and regions difficult of access as well as the overcoming of the unfavourable consequences of altered climatic conditions within the framework of the "movement to transform nature". These measures coupled with the selfless labour of Korean farmers have resulted in steadily larger grain harvests in recent years. The year 1982 was a record one, with grain production reaching 9.5 million tons.

The high rates of economic development made it essential to improve the infrastructure and primarily transport facilities. In view of the growing volume of freight, efforts have been made in recent years to increase the capacity of the railways (which account for the bulk of domestic freight) through laying new railways and electrifying the old ones. Today 87.5 per cent of railway carriage is performed by electric locomotives. Much work is being done to enlarge and modernise sea ports, build new freight ships, ramify the network of motor roads, and provide the national economy with new motor vehicles.

The present-day economy of the DPRK is oriented towards an overall intensification of social production inasmuch as the extensive factors of development have been largely exhausted. A drive is under way for maximum economy of labour and material resources and higher productivity through implementing the achievements of the current scientific and technological revolution.

The scientific and technological revolution, modernisation and reconstruction of production on the basis of up-to-date technology and equipment, including that from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are playing an increasingly important role in maintaining the DPRK's development rates at a high level. Mention should be made in this connection of the improved general educational system and the better vocational training of workers in the national economy. In the 1970s, for example, the number of higher educational establishments grew from 129 to 170 and as many as 480 specialised secondary schools were opened. The total body of engineers and technicians now numbers one million.

Korean science makes a large contribution to the development of the national economy. In the latter half of the 1970s alone, several thousand important problems in the sphere of research were solved and hundreds of thousands of technical innovations were introduced at national enterprises.

Korean scientists concentrate on tackling the technological problems which are of great practical importance. Thus, during the past decade they developed and introduced into the mining industry highly efficient equipment, including high-speed cutting machines and coal combines. A new method of steel production based on the use of domestic fuel was practised as well as a new method of casting iron. At present research is chiefly aimed at finding more effective ways of utilising local raw materials and fuel, at creating advanced technology in electronics and methods for automating other branches, at selecting new varieties of crops more resistant to unfavourable climatic conditions, etc.

Economic achievements provide a solid foundation for raising the living standards of the people and improving the socialist way of life in the DPRK. The real incomes of the broad masses are constantly growing. Food, clothes and housing are largely subsidised by the state from social consumption funds, so that each family gets an extra 1,000 won annually in the form of material wealth. People's power ensures equal material conditions to all the working people through a system of rationing of food and basic necessities which are sold at very low prices. Moreover, from time to time clothes, footwear and other consumer goods are distributed free among the population, first of all among kids and pupils.

Much attention is paid to the improvement of working conditions. The 1978 law on socialist labour guarantees every DPRK citizen over 16 the right to work, and all men and women aged 60 and 55, respectively, the right to a pension. There is an eight-hour work day and a six-day work week in the republic. All workers, employees and cooperative farmers get annual leaves of 14 days or more. In case of a temporary disability due to illness or work-related injury the interests of the person are secured by the social maintenance system.

There exists an 11-year general education system which is free and compulsory for all citizens. Everybody enjoys free medical care. In 1976, life expectancy was 73 years as compared to 44 years before the liberation.

The DPRK's working people could have scored still greater achievements but for the vigorous opposition on the part of US imperialism, which continues to support the anti-democratic Seoul regime militarily and economically, and involves South Korea into its plans of aggression in the Far East. The White House openly ignores the DPRK's just call on South Korea to peacefully reunify the country, which is in the interests of the entire Korean people. The present rulers in Washington have greatly overstepped their predecessors in whipping up

military and political tension in the Korean peninsula. They use all sort of unseemly methods from the arsenal of the enemies of socialism, such as attempts to slander the republic's domestic and foreign policies, military blackmail, economic embargo, direct provocations in border areas, air and naval espionage, etc. The progressive world public denounced the unprecedented in scope US-South Korean Team Spirit-83 military exercises which took place in close proximity to the DPRK early this year. Taking part in the exercises were US force stationing in South Korea as well as many war ships, aircraft and troops from other American military bases.

Such actions on the part of the US are often the cause of grave armed border incidents, which force People's Korea to pay special attention to its defence. Despite the government's effort to ensure objective conditions for curtailing military allocations, they accounted for 14 per cent of the state budget in the last years. A considerable amount of manpower and material resources are channelled to the DPRK's armed forces, which are to oppose the joint army of the United States and South Korea. This naturally hampers the republic's economic upsurge and an increase in living standards.

But the imperialists will be unable to force People's Korea to turn off the road of socialism. The Korean people know very well from their historical experience that in their effort to advance the economy and achieve peaceful reunification of the country without any interference from the outside, they can always rely on the understanding and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. At every stage of the DPRK's history the Soviet Union has made an incalculable contribution to the achievements of the fraternal Korean people, both in the years of war and at construction sites in peaceful years. In the early 1980s, the enterprises built with Soviet technical assistance produced 34 per cent of the country's rolled stock, 40 per cent of iron ore, 45 per cent of oil products and approximately 60 per cent of electrical power. The Soviet Union supplies North Korea with modern machinery and equipment, industrial raw materials and foodstuffs. At the same time it provides a rich market for Korean textiles, cement, magnesite clinker, machine-tools, transformers, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and other goods. Mutually advantageous Soviet-Korean cooperation in science and culture is also progressing well.

The Soviet people sincerely wish the fraternal republic which has entered the 36th year of independence, peace, prosperity and renewed success in the building of a socialist society on the ancient Korean soil.

INTERNATIONAL

PDRY SUCCESS IN OVERCOMING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS VIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 38-40

[Article by Seif Sael Khaled, South Yemeni journalist, under the rubric "On the Road of Progress": "Democratic Yemen--Revolution: Sources, Goals, Accomplishments"]

[Text]

Late last year South Yemen marked the 20th anniversary of its triumphant revolution, the 16th anniversary of its independence, and in June 1984 the country will celebrate 15 years since the defeat of the right-opportunist forces and the choice of socialist orientation made by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. This relatively short span of time saw great sacrifices and many achievements, and it contains instructive lessons.

On January 19, 1839, British colonialists occupied Aden, the possession of which was contested by a number of West European states, cognizant of its good strategic position at the southern "gates" of the Red Sea opening into the Indian Ocean. Owing to their military superiority, the invaders succeeded in suppressing the heroic resistance put up by the inhabitants of Aden. The British took advantage of the treachery of some Sultans as well as of the intertribal wars and conflicts. Having consolidated their foothold in Aden, they began establishing their domination over the entire region, resorting to blackmail and threats as regards the pockets of resistance, and to talks with Sultans and Emirs whom they bribed and imposed unequal agreements on. Tribal fragmentation was deliberately preserved. Suffice it to say that in the territory of such a small country as the present-day Democratic Yemen there were over 20 Emirates and Sheikdoms, with every Emirate having official borders and collecting custom dues.

The occupation lasted 129 years. The colonialists used Aden not only as a military base to protect their interests in the Middle East, and as an excellent merchant port, but also as an outpost for carrying out various plots against the peoples of the region, suppressing their liberation movements, and for plundering the country, whose economy was turned into an "economy of services" bound to the capitalist market.

No industrial enterprises were built, with the exception of the oil refinery constructed in Aden in 1954 to serve the needs of the colonialists. At the same time local craftsmen were ruined because they were unable to oppose the inflow of foreign-made goods. Since the beginning of the 1950s, the British began encouraging the growing of cotton, vegetables and fruit in some provinces to provide raw materials for the textile industry at home, and keep the military base personnel supplied with food. On the whole, however, agriculture which employed more than two-thirds of the population remained extremely backward. No attention was given to improving cattle-breeding and fishing methods. The attempts made in the 1930s and the 1960s by US and British companies to find oil and mineral resources in the country were unsuccessful.

The working of the lopsided economic structure inherited from colonialism is illustrated, among other things, by the fact that in 1965 industry and agriculture taken together accounted for 12 per cent of budget revenue, services, trade and finance for 56 per cent, and the tax money coming from the company which

owned the oil refinery, and the expenditures of the British servicemen for 32 per cent.

Ninety per cent of people in town and countryside could neither read nor write. The number of students at primary and preparatory schools was insignificant, and higher education institutions were entirely nonexistent.

Such was the state of affairs with the productive forces. As for the relations of production, they were a conglomeration of five different structures—foreign capitalism, local comprador-type capitalism, feudalism and semi-feudalism, petty-commodity production, and vestiges of patriarchal structure.

It is on this economic basis that the class relations between the exploiters and the exploited were developing.

Under the patronage of foreign bourgeoisie represented by foreign companies and banks, a weak local bourgeoisie, largely of the comprador type, emerged. Seventy to eighty per cent of the land suitable for cultivation was owned by big landlords.

Then, there also existed a young proletariat (stevedores, workers of the British oil company, builders); peasantry—the biggest oppressed class comprised of landless peasants, poor and middle peasants; petty bourgeoisie, as well as other social groups, such as intelligentsia, fishermen, and nomadic bedouins, all of whom suffered from exploitation by the colonialists, comprador bourgeoisie and feudals, this inevitably bringing the above-mentioned classes and social groups together for a struggle against the oppressors.

The political parties that emerged in South Yemen expressed the interests of the opposing classes. In spite of certain ideological and political differences, the Aden Association, the National Party, the South Sons' League, the People's Socialist Party, all of them organised with the blessing of the colonialists, in general faithfully served the exploiter forces. On the contrary, the National Front, the Baath, especially the latter's democratic wing, and the People's Democratic Union (the Marxist group) supported the working people's aspirations for national independence and social progress. In the course of class battles between the people, on the one hand, and the colonialists and their stooges, on the other, and under the influence of a realignment of world forces in favour of socialism, the necessary prerequisites took shape, which predetermined the success of the armed uprising.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the

route of nazism in World War II, the emergence of the world socialist system, the collapse of colonialism under the onslaught of the national liberation movement, the emergence of progressive regimes in Arab countries, the revolution of September 26, 1962, in North Yemen, which swept away the theocratic monarchy and established a republic, thus becoming an encouraging factor for the anti-colonial struggle in the South, all this created favourable conditions for a revolution in our country.

The strike movement was on the rise, and the mass actions in town and village became more frequent occurrences. The parties which served the colonialists or "exhorted" them from liberal positions were left without followers. The attempts by the colonialists to extinguish the wrath of the people by means of holding elections to the so-called Legislative Assembly were a fiasco. The influence of the Political Organisation of the National Front (PONF) among the people which no longer wanted to live in the old fashion was growing.

Under these favourable internal and external conditions, a PONF-guided armed uprising started against colonialists and their menials on October 14, 1963. It was morally supported by progressive organisations, and forces of national liberation and socialism in the Arab East and the rest of the world.

Our revolutionaries not only fought with arms in hand, but carried out active political and ideological work. As the armed movement was developing, the Political Organisation of the National Front, the vanguard of the revolution, was growing organisationally and ideologically, as was its class consciousness. A left-wing group emerged within it, which was ready to espouse and did gradually espouse the ideas of scientific socialism.

The colonialists and their agents bent every effort to change the course of events and even tried, in 1966, to set up the so-called Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FI.OSY) intended to undermine the revolutionary struggle from within but these attempts failed.

In 1966-1967, the National Front was winning new military victories. Sultans and Emirs fled, Emirates collapsed one after another, and the prestige of the National Front among the workers, peasants, students, intelligentsia, soldiers and officers of the "feudal army" was mounting. All this made the colonialists recognise the actual state of affairs and leave the

country. The armed uprising culminated in the winning of national independence on November 30, 1967.

Following independence, the principal question which faced the revolution was which path of social development to choose. It was the focus of struggle that unfolded between the left, progressive, and the right-opportunistic trends at the Fourth Congress of the National Front in March 1968. Both trends had emerged during the armed struggle. The left-wingers favoured a non-capitalist path of development and insisted on destroying the colonial state machinery and replacing it with a revolutionary regime expressing the interests of the people; on nationalising foreign companies and banks; on solving the agrarian question in favour of the peasants; and on strengthening anti-imperialist solidarity with the world revolutionary movement. The right-wingers refuted these propositions and came out for a capitalist path of development.

Though the Congress approved the line of the left-wingers, the struggle between the two trends continued to aggravate and assumed different forms, including an abortive coup by the right-wingers on March 20, 1968, and the uprising of May 14, 1968, staged by the left-wingers who, however, failed to win.

In the course of the confrontation between the two trends, the left-wingers managed to increase their political weight inside the PONF leadership and its local grass-root organisations, as well as in mass organisation, and in the army. They also consolidated around them the democratic forces which were not members of the National Front. Simultaneously, the right-wingers who, moreover, went through a period of internal disarray, found themselves in growing isolation.

This enabled the left-wingers to take the so-called "rectifying step" on June 22, 1969, i. e., to defeat the right-opportunist trend, and open up new horizons before the revolution.

The "rectifying movement" touched off the stage of the national democratic revolution with the prospects of its developing into a socialist revolution, in accordance with the brilliant prevision of Lenin, the one confirmed by historic practice, that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to com-

munist, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."¹

According to the documents issued by the Yemeni Socialist Party, formed in 1978, the national democratic revolution in our country is spearheaded against imperialism, comprador bourgeoisie and feudals. It is a period when material, technical, social and spiritual prerequisites are created for a transition to the next stage, i. e., the building of socialism. Its tasks are attained as the revolutionary power is strengthened, the public sector becomes a leading force of economic development, the vestiges of feudalism are eliminated, the land problem is solved in the interests of the working peasants, the cooperation in city and village is developing, the consciousness of the people is growing and the theory of scientific socialism is spreading among them, close relations are established with the countries of the socialist system and other contingents of the world revolutionary movement and joint struggle against imperialism and reaction progresses. These tasks are attained on the basis of an alliance between the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and petty bourgeoisie under the guidance of the working class and its vanguard, the Yemeni Socialist Party.

The party holds that the moment of the completion of the present stage of the revolution and the beginning of the next stage cannot be determined arbitrarily, in conformity with someone's subjective wishes. The length of the transition period will depend on the course of fundamental social transformations inside the country, and on external conditions.

During the period after the beginning of the "rectifying movement" our people has scored tangible successes in implementing the tasks of the national democratic revolution. The state machinery was purged of feudal, bourgeois, and all other elements hostile to the revolution. It was also radically rebuilt and made democratic due to the election of the Supreme People's Council and local people's councils, and also due to the involvement of the working people in running state-owned enterprises and more vigorous activities of the mass public organisations.

From the standpoint of its class content, democratic power in our country is of a transitional character, which is in conformity with the stage of the revolution the country is going through. When this stage is accomplished, it will turn into a form of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

people's democracy which will discharge the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the stage of socialist construction.

The laws on nationalisation and land reform struck a blow at the foreign and comprador bourgeoisie in town and at feudals and semi-feudals in countryside. As a result of carrying out the plans of economic development, the share of the public and the cooperative sectors in the GNP reached in 1981, 42.9 per cent and 7.4 per cent, respectively. Some 150 agricultural and fishing cooperatives, as well as cooperatives in the sphere of the services, unite almost 100,000 people.

Besides, there exist private and mixed sectors in our country, which take part in economic development under the guidance and control of the public sector.

Dramatic improvements in various branches of the economy resulted in better living standards of the population. In 1981, the average per capita income reached \$300.

As a result of changes in the economic structure, substantial shifts in the class composition of society took place. Due to the building of new industrial enterprises and other production projects, the number of the working class increased, its political role enhanced, and the ties with the workers of other countries through trade unions consolidated. The Party is striving to create the necessary conditions for the working class to fully become the leading force of the revolutionary process and to be able to discharge its national and internationalist duty.

There have emerged and will continue to grow social strata of cooperated peasants, fishermen and craftsmen. Simultaneously the share of the revolutionary intelligentsia has increased.

Today the petty bourgeoisie comprises small traders and urban and rural dwellers engaged on a small scale in production activities on the basis of private property. In view of the economic need, a segment of medium bourgeoisie has also emerged in the sphere of production, trade and contracts. However, the policy of the Party puts certain limits to the growth of bourgeois elements, which should not be exceeded.

Important changes occurred in education and culture, and the dissemination of the concepts of scientific socialism is under way, as is the education of a new man—patriot and internationalist, and the struggle against bourgeois and feudal ideology.

Among the indicative features in the experience of the revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of

Yemen is the voluntary merger of three organisations which have held similar class and ideological positions and have fruitfully cooperated with one another for a long time—the National Front, the People's Democratic Union and the Vanguard Party into the United Political Organisation—National Front (UPONF), which was converted into the Yemeni Socialist Party in October 1978.

Among the factors which contributed to the turning of the UPONF (which was no longer a "usual", i. e., a rather heterogeneous united front) into a vanguard party of a new type was its purge of right-wing and "left" opportunistic elements, and the growth of influence of scientific socialism among its members and all working people. An important part in it has been played by the School of Scientific Socialism, Party seminars, ideological training of activists in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The class structure of the UPONF was improved in the interests of the working class, cooperated peasantry and working intelligentsia. Its organisational principles were consolidated, particularly the principle of democratic centralism. The contacts with Communist and workers' parties of Arab countries and the whole world, above all with the great party of Lenin, have been developing.

Among the fundamental tasks facing the party today is the implementation of the decisions of its First Congress (October 1978) and the Extraordinary Congress (October 1980), as well as the organisational and ideological strengthening of the Party on the basis of the ideas of scientific communism, and the strengthening of its leading role in society.

The role of our progressive regime in defending the gains of the October and the September revolutions and also in the struggle for the unification of the two Yemeni states on a peaceful democratic basis continues to grow. Its prestige in the Arab world is growing too. Our Party maintains that rebuffing the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the Arab peoples, and implementing the goals of the liberation movement call for unity and cohesion of all its contingents, a release of the creative energy of the popular masses and the strengthening of the ties of that movement with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

The Yemeni Socialist Party expresses great satisfaction with the development of cooperation between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Soviet Union, and the

entire socialist community in economic, political, ideological and other spheres on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the unity of goals in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, socialism and social progress. Our Party and people appreciate highly the internationalist assistance

given to us by the Soviet Union. This assistance was and remains a major guarantee of the ultimate victory of the revolution in Democratic Yemen. Our bilateral relations are based on a solid foundation of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, concluded in 1979.

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INTERNATIONAL

WESTERN, SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES ON NAMIBIA ASSAILED

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[Article by Kseniya Borishpolets and Aleksey Kovalenko under the rubric "Against Racism and Apartheid": "Imperialism's Namibian Stake"]

[Text]

As to its natural resources, Namibia is truly a unique country. It has vast deposits of uranium, diamonds, copper, tin, zinc, lead, lithium, vanadium, and silver. Cadmium and iron ore are also extracted here; there are coal mines, deposits of natural gas, and estimated oil deposits. Numerous farms make it possible to export cattle, meat, hides, astrakhan. The coastal waters of the Atlantic Ocean abound in fish.

The greatest benefits from the present-day colonial exploitation of Namibia's natural resources go to South African companies, which control about 40 per cent of the shares in its mining industry, virtually one hundred per cent in fishery, and predominate in building, trade and finance. As for railways, ports, airlines, radio network, post and telegraph services, they are part and parcel of the government enterprises of South Africa. South Africans own a considerable part of the land in the white-populated areas. Namibia also is an important market for South African goods, where the latter are often sold at much higher prices than the world market.

It is the Namibian uranium that draws Pretoria's special attention. According to the London-based *New Statesman*, its deposits by far exceed the amount of uranium which can be obtained as a by-product in extracting gold in South Africa itself, where no natural deposits of uranium ore have been discovered so far. Namibia boasts the biggest uranium complex, Rössing, which, according to estimates, provides one-sixth of the entire production of uranium in the capitalist world. A number of new deposits have been discovered. If they are to be developed, Namibia may enter the mid-1980s as the third biggest uranium producer in the non-socialist world (after the United States and Canada).

The natural resources of Namibia are coveted by the monopolies of the USA, France, Great Britain, FRG, Canada (it is indicative that all these countries are members of the so-called "contact group"), and other capitalist states. First, its mineral raw materials are of exceptional value to the West, and in the future they may even grow in importance, second, the cheapness of the labour force and the repressive system of apartheid guarding the interests of the transnational corporations make investments in Namibia's economy highly profitable. For example, the Anglo-American Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation makes over 40 per cent of its overall profits in Namibia and South Africa, although it has invested there only 7 per cent of its capital. Every year from one-third to

one-half of Namibia's GNP is exported abroad as incomes and dividends.

However, economic interests are not the only thing world imperialism pursues in Namibia. This country looms large in its global political and strategic calculations.

As far as Pretoria is concerned, faced with mounting anti-called "constellation of states in Southern Africa" — a sphere of economic and political influence of Pretoria in the continent. Formally independent Namibia is designed to play the role of a "showcase" of that "constellation". Finally, the preservation of control over Namibia enables South Africa to consolidate its positions in the world capitalist system.

In their turn, Western powers are striving, not only to ensure uninterrupted exploitation of the Namibian natural wealth, but also to prevent racist South Africa, the principal outpost of imperialism in Africa, from growing weaker. No doubt, the victory of patriotic forces in Namibia would trigger a powerful upsurge of the liberation struggle in the citadel of apartheid, and this, in its turn, would promote the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces in the entire continent. That is why Western politicians are concerned, first and foremost, with the stability of the racist regime, assigning it the role of a catalyst supposed to speed up the disintegration of African unity, and of a centre for attracting the so-called "moderate" regimes.

However, there exist certain differences between the leading imperialist powers and South Africa in the approach to the problem of Namibia. First of all, one should bear in mind that the main slice of the Namibian "pie" goes to Pretoria. Out of the 24 major mining companies operating in Namibia, half belong to South Africa, five have headquarters in the USA, three in Canada, two in Great Britain, and France and the FRG own one company each. Such alignment of forces naturally is not to the liking of Western monopolies, and is a serious source of inter-imperialist contradictions.

Moreover, in its policy vis-à-vis Namibia, South Africa takes into account primarily its own specific interests aimed at perpetuating the system of apartheid. Sometimes this causes irritation in Western capitals which maintain that Pretoria lacks a "global approach" to processes occurring in the world, and that a fuller integration of South African apartheid struggle, deteriorating relations with independent African countries, primarily the frontline states, and its greater international isolation, it seeks to use the Namibian problem for its far-reaching aims.

South African authorities, pushing through the "internal settlement", based on the support of the collaborationist elements in Namibia, the implementation of curtailed reforms, and the attempts to split the national liberation movement, are out to try a "model" which could later be used in South Africa itself. The tactics of the racists are as follows: by holding up negotiations on Namibia to secure participation in them of some African countries; in the course of contacts with the latter to discuss other questions, i. e., to start a "dialogue with Africa" which is a cherished dream of South African rulers; then having realised their own model of Namibia's "independence", to get down to creating a so-called foreign policy into a single strategy of imperialism is necessary.

Hence the tactics of the West: a combination of support for the expansionist line of South Africa and the demonstration of "goodwill" as regards Namibia. The double-dealing stand of Western powers clearly manifested itself in their "peace-making" activities permitting the racists to continue the illegal occupation of that country.

In view of the fact that recent developments linked with the manoeuvres of Western powers around the "Namibian knot" are rather entangled and due to the complicated objective reasons and deliberate actions by members of the "contact group", it seems expedient to give a brief account of the events that have taken place.

The West's desire to obtain an acceptable solution of the Namibian problem, led to the setting up, in 1977, of a "contact group" comprised of the USA, Canada, Britain, France, and the FRG, its aim being to mediate between South Africa and the SWAPO in quest of ways for a peaceful settlement in Namibia.*

The demarche of ambassadors of five Western powers directed at convincing South African Prime Minister B. Vorster to abandon direct colonial domination in Namibia and to try to find a more flexible form of settlement on a neocolonial basis was the first action of the "contact group". It should be pointed out, however, that the demarche was rather symbolic since the West knew that Pretoria had already begun realising the need for replacing the former methods of oppression by new, more "modern" ones.

Back in September 1975, a so-called constitutional conference attended by Pretoria's menials was convened with the aim of an "internal settlement", that is, laying the foundations for a puppet regime in Namibia. This ruse of the racists was a fiasco, however, as a result of an upsurge in the liberation movement in the country, the growth of international solidarity with the just struggle of the Namibian people, and the aggravation of contradictions between the puppets.

In view of the situation that prevailed, the "contact group" drafted a plan to grant independence to Namibia by February 1978, which largely met the interests of Pretoria; the plan did not envisage the withdrawal of South African troops and the removal of colonial administration during the preparations for, and holding of, elections in Namibia, which was in contravention of UN Security Council Resolution 385 of January 30, 1976, which insisted on the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the holding of free elections under UN supervision.

However, the racists had no intentions of making even the fictitious compromise which their imperialist partners call on them to make, but sought in every possible way to gain the time necessary for implementing their own variation of an "internal settlement".

Nevertheless, regarding negotiations as a possible form of struggle for the liberation of their Motherland, SWAPO accepted the proposal to discuss the abovementioned plan, though expressed serious doubt that negotiations with racists could yield any positive results.

Subsequent developments fully corroborated these doubts. Early in 1978 representatives of the five Western powers made an attempt to discuss their plan of a settlement between South Africa and SWAPO in the UN.

From the very outset South Africa's stand was marked by toughness and extremism. Enjoying secret support of the imperialist countries, Pretoria demanded that SWAPO unilaterally end all its combat activities even prior to achieving any agreement. SWAPO successfully rebuffed this diplomatic pressure. Racists and their patrons failed to shatter the resolve of the patriots to struggle for the genuine independence of Namibia and its territorial integrity. The patriots' stand won complete support of the special session of the UN General Assembly on Namibia (April 24—May 3, 1978), whose participants reiterated the need to put an end to the illegitimate occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

Having failed to secure a surrender of the patriotic forces at the negotiations, the racists resorted to armed interference. In May 1978, they conducted a barbarous raid against a Namibian refugee camp at Cassinga (Angola). Old men,

* In December 1983, France decided to withdraw from the "contact group", which unambiguously testifies to the disintegration of the "Big Five" and confirms the evident fact that the Western variants of solution of the problem reached the deadlock.

women and children fell victim of the raid. Pretoria hoped that this monstrous action would intimidate SWAPO and force it to give up its goals.

The crude pressure brought to bear by the racist regime was countered by the leaders of SWAPO and the frontline states by a joint strategy which combined broader national liberation struggle of the people of Namibia and the search for a political solution to the Namibian problem. SWAPO and independent African countries supported UN Security Council Resolution 435 of October 30, 1978, which spelled out a plan for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence. Among other things, it provided for the holding of negotiations under international control. Namibian patriots clearly saw the weak points of the plan elaborated with the participation of the five Western powers. Still, SWAPO, being firmly convinced of the broad popular support, declared its readiness for an immediate implementation of the plan. But this time, too, South Africa was unwilling to make any concessions. Coming out with ever new reasons for refusing to observe the provisions of the UN plan, Pretoria stepped up the implementation of its own "internal settlement" and invigorated preparations for the illegal elections to the puppet "constituent assembly".

In word, Western powers condemned South Africa's preparations for the elections with the wittingly falsified results, while in deed repeatedly threatened to use a veto to prevent the Security Council from employing effective sanctions against South Africa. Their diplomats asserted demagogically in the UN that Pretoria "should be given time", that it is necessary to understand its intentions, and so on.

Another round of policy coordination between the five imperialist countries and South Africa took place in the course of an unprecedented visit paid to Pretoria in October 1978 by Foreign Ministers of the USA, Britain, the FRG, France, and Canada. It was only natural that, as a result of this visit, the West gave its tacit consent to Pretoria's organising the "elections" in exchange for its vague promises to hold elections, envisaged by the UN decision, some time in the future. With their connivance the racists formed, in December 1978, a puppet "constituent assembly" in Namibia and launched a campaign for it to be recognised internationally.

The world public sharply censured this action of South Africa. The UN stressed in its decisions that the "elections" held by Pretoria and all other actions which may be taken in the future on the basis of their returns were of an illegitimate nature. Despite all this, in May 1979, South Africa reorganised the Namibian "constituent assembly" into a "national assembly" and granted it the right to conduct "legislative activities".

These steps by Pretoria were fully in conformity with the neocolonial strategy of imperialism. That is why Western powers actually gave their support to the creation of a puppet regime in Namibia. With their connivance the racists also succeeded in frustrating the first Geneva Conference on Namibia, held in November 1978 under the aegis of the UN.

The "contact group" advanced proposals to the participants in the conference, which provided for a withdrawal of SWAPO military units from Namibia and the establishment of control over the patriots' camps in Angola and Zambia. Western powers, meeting halfway the claims of the racists, agreed to preserve South African military bases in the demilitarised zone in Northern Namibia.

Although SWAPO and the frontline states made a number of compromises as regards the terms for creating a demilitarised zone, in 1980 South Africa, under different pretexts, postponed the adoption of the plan. Meanwhile Pretoria formed a "council of ministers" in Namibia and began demonstratively to transfer to it executive powers.

In a bid to muster social support for the illegal regime, South African authorities undertook "cosmetic reforms". For example, widely advertised measures were taken to abolish

formal racial discrimination in Namibia. The Namibian *Allgemeine Zeitung* cited an incidence demonstrating the true nature of these measures: in September 1980 several members of the puppet council of ministers were barred entry to a hotel designed for whites only.

The formation of the so-called Namibian army which is supposed to become a counterbalance to SWAPO armed forces plays a special role in Pretoria's plans. Exploiting the fact that there are some 40,000 unemployed Africans in the country, the racists, by promises, deceit and threats formed several "tribal armies" which were consequently organised into seven battalions and placed under the command of South African officers. Even the South African press admits that the creation of these armed forces presents a serious obstacle to the implementation of the UN plan on decolonisation of Namibia.

The racists, in a bid to impose a puppet regime on the Namibian people, were banking on the ephemeral organisation—the Democratic Alliance of Turnhalle (DAT)—comprised of white minority parties and collaborationists from among the indigenous population. Using DAT as its principal political instrument, South Africa sought to set different nationalities of Namibia in opposition to each other, and to undermine the mass base of the national liberation movement.

South Africa has been steadily boosting repressions to preserve its "presence in Namibia". Hundreds of Namibian patriots are in prisons without trial and are subjected to most cruel tortures. There is continuing persecution of churchmen denouncing the colonial policy and the crimes committed by the South African military.

At the same time Pretoria opposes any constructive negotiations with SWAPO on the ways for granting genuine independence to the Namibian people. This clearly manifested itself once again at the Geneva Conference on Namibia in January 1981. Being unable to suppress the national liberation movement by military force, South Africa sought to use the Geneva rostrum to launch a broad offensive against the international positions of SWAPO. The racists, in brazenly insisting on the recognition of their puppets, demanded that the UN renounce its recognition of SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and discontinue all types of international assistance to the Namibian refugees. Moreover, Pretoria tried again to put in question the role played by the UN in the decolonisation of Namibia. And again the West opposed no resistance to South Africa which had frustrated the Geneva negotiations.

In spite of the fact that the racists openly made a stake on expanding the conflict in the region, it can be stated that of late the West has been increasingly supporting Pretoria's designs. This is evidenced by the campaign of struggle against "international terrorism", launched by the Reagan administration, the stronger military ties between the USA and South Africa, and the fact that the Western members of the UN Security Council had on twelve occasions voted down the demand of the UN General Assembly to impose an economic embargo on South Africa.

In the spring of 1981, the USA, with the consent of the other members of the "contact group", went even further in supporting the racist regime in the Namibian conflict. They came out with new proposals aimed at refusing to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435. Under the guise of organising a "constitutional conference" on Namibia, the Reagan administration tried to grant South Africa an opportunity to take part in the elaboration of the statehood of future independent Namibia, thus depriving the Namibian people of their legitimate right to decide their destiny themselves.

During the past two and a half years the USA, which earlier also played the part of the leader in the notorious

"contact group", has been seeking to "link" the decolonisation of Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban military contingent from Angola. Certainly, this diplomatic trick was to the liking of Pretoria which, following in the wake of its senior ally, started repeating the claim that only one obstacle stood in the way of granting independence to Namibia, i. e., the presence of the Cubans in Angola, who were invited, as is common knowledge, by the legitimate government of Angola in full accord with the standards of international law to protect the country from South African aggression. Such "linkage" represents not only gross interference in the internal affairs of the young state and an infringement on its sovereignty, but also a deliberate effort to delay a true settlement in Namibia.

Despite various types of pressure brought to bear on African countries, primarily on Angola and other frontline states by the Washington diplomacy, despite the escalation of Pretoria's aggressive acts against its neighbours, independent Africa turned down the new imperialist design. Angola's government categorically rejected the brazen demand to "link" decolonisation of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists. The leaders of the frontline states, as well as Nigeria, Kenya, the Cape Verde, and Senegal stated unequivocally to the top-ranking American visitors—US Vice-President George Bush, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, and to some others who frequented Africa in 1982 that the US stand was unacceptable.

Thus, the issue of granting independence to Namibia, which showed no signs of progress since 1981 through the fault of the "contact group" and South Africa, which at that period came out with the one-sided and obviously unviable plan for elections to the constituent assembly of the future independent Namibia, was again deadlocked. Meanwhile, Pretoria began to regroup its forces in Namibia. Having disbanded, early in 1983, the Democratic Alliance of Turnhalle which had already collapsed as a result of strife between the puppets for South African posts, Pretoria again began running the country and made an attempt to form a so-called "government of national unity" and, as a first step toward it, a "state council". However, van Niekerk, the new General Administrator of Namibia, found it extremely difficult to enlist new collaborationists who were allegedly to elaborate a "new system of government" for Namibia for the period preceding its independence. It was not only SWAPO that declared a boycott to the South African draft, but also even those African parties which earlier took a neutral stand with respect to Pretoria.

SWAPO viewed the creation of a "state council" as another attempt of the racist regime to push through the neocolonial solution of the Namibian problem on the basis of "bantustanisation", i. e., a division of Namibia.

Despite all this, the struggle of the Namibian people led by its recognised vanguard, SWAPO, continues to develop successfully. SWAPO offers in place of the neocolonial manoeuvres a democratic alternative for the future structure of independent Namibia. Its programme provides for creating a democratic state in Namibia, eliminating all forms of racial, national and social oppression, introducing universal suffrage, implementing far-reaching social and economic reforms, including nationalisation of the means of production and a radical land reform. The programme emphasises the need for the unity of all patriotically-minded forces for both winning and safeguarding national independence.

At the current stage the main means for attaining these objectives continues to be armed struggle. The higher level of military training, the constant inflow of volunteers have enabled the patriots to go over to large-scale combat operations. The losses of the racist South African army are mounting steadily. SWAPO controls vast areas in the North, North-east and Northwest of Namibia. At the same time the combat

operations have repeatedly spilled over into the central areas of the country as well, and into the number of towns.

In addition to stepping up hostilities, SWAPO is expanding its political work among the Namibian people. The organisation has enjoyed the growing support from all ethnic groups of the African majority, rural and urban population. SWAPO's standing is particularly high among the Namibian proletariat. All the African population of the country and even those sections which for the time being are not active in the national liberation movement support the main slogan of SWAPO—the liquidation of South African colonial domination in Namibia.

The just struggle for Namibia's freedom and independence enjoys mounting international support; SWAPO's prestige grows steadily. At the same time, the world, particularly African countries, condemn the obstructionist stand of South Africa, which is unwilling to withdraw from the illegitimately occupied territory of Namibia, and the policy of US administration which has entered into an open collusion with the racists.

The current situation in Namibia was examined in May 1983 at a session of the UN Security Council, which was convened on the initiative of a group of African states and nonaligned countries. It was noted at the session that the situation in Namibia is constantly growing worse. The country is still occupied by a 100-thousand-strong South African army, and there is one foreign soldier per twelve local inhabitants. Every day peaceful Namibians are assassinated, people are sent to concentration camps and are subjected to barbarous tortures. There is continuing plunder of Namibia's natural resources.

Speaking on behalf of the nonaligned movement, the Foreign Minister of India expressed support for the just struggle of the Namibian people and denounced the illegitimate occupation of Namibia by the racist regime of South Africa and the attempts to impose on its people different versions of a "solution" which would perpetuate the domination of racists.

SWAPO President Sam Nujoma reiterated the readiness of the patriots to take part in free and honest elections under the aegis of the UN. Moreover, the SWAPO addressed the United Nations with the demand to refuse the services of the "contact group" whose actions—and this is now universally admitted—were aimed at delaying a true settlement in Namibia, and proposed to pass its functions directly to the UN. In this connection the UN Security Council adopted a resolution authorising the UN Secretary-General to resume contacts between SWAPO and the frontline states; on the one hand, and South Africa and its Western partners, on the other. The resolution likewise binds other members of the Security Council, especially its permanent members, to look for ways for implementing Resolution 435, which is a generally recognised foundation for the settlement of the Namibian problem.

The Soviet stand concerning the granting of independence to Namibia remains clearcut and principled. Speaking at the May session of the Security Council, the Soviet Ambassador stated that the US demand for a "linkage" was the height of political cynicism, for linked were two different things: in one case, it concerned the right of Namibia to independence, while in the other it related to Angola's sovereign decision to protect itself from the aggressor. The Soviet Union has favoured the ensuring of a true independence of Namibia within a short span of time on the basis of preserving its unity and territorial integrity, including the port of Walvis Bay, and the coastal islands, and the granting of complete authority to the people of Namibia in the person of SWAPO, which has been recognised by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the nonaligned movement as its sole legitimate representative.

The struggle of the Namibian people for the independence of its Motherland continues. Under the leadership of SWAPO, it has won important military and political victories on its way towards freedom. Hard battles against racists and their patrons are still ahead, but the Namibian patriots know that they are not alone. They have the support of all progressive people. ■

SUCCESSES, PROBLEMS SEEN IN MALI AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

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[Article by Galina Vitukhina under the rubric: "Countries, Peoples, Times": "Agrarian Reform in Mali"]

[Text]

Deep-going agrarian reforms is one of the main prerequisites for eliminating the backwardness of African countries, accelerating the rates of their economic development, attaining economic independence and eventually raising the living standards of their populations. The problem is very important for Mali, a typical agrarian country in which agricultural development in fact determines the state of affairs in the economy as a whole. More than 80 per cent of the able-bodied population is engaged in farming, which accounts for about 50 per cent of the gross domestic product and for more than 80 per cent of export products (in value terms).

At the time it won political independence, Mali was one of the least developed African countries. The so-called traditional sector characterised by the subsistence, semi-subsistence and small-commodity types of the economy, communal ownership of land and archaic pre-capitalist production relations was predominant and hindered the growth of the rural productive forces.

When it became a sovereign state on September 22, 1960, Mali chose the non-capitalist road of development. Socio-economic tasks, among them the radical restructuring of agriculture, acquired foremost importance.

The agrarian-peasant problem in Mali had some peculiarities, namely, the virtual absence of feudal or large European landownership plus a big reserve of land suitable for cultivation. For this reason the agrarian reform proclaimed by the government

envisaged no redistribution of land. The institution of village and canton chieftains appointed by the colonial administration was abolished in 1959 even before independence. All questions of land tenure were placed under the jurisdiction of elected village councils. The authority of traditional chieftains was also restricted by the fact that communal peasants no longer had to pay for the right to till the land (formerly this payment usually amounted to one-tenth of the harvest). An exception was made for the nomadic tribes' chieftains who, given the status of elected representatives of the population, were put under the control of state bodies.

The agrarian reforms carried out at the first stage of Mali's independent development aimed at emancipating the peasants completely from all forms of exploitation and at increasing labour productivity in farming to turn it into a source of accumulation to develop all economic branches. The main emphasis was laid on cooperation on the basis of village communes, the withdrawal of "traditional" trade-usury capital from circulation, state control over the purchase of the agricultural produce, the development of commercial farming zones, and the reduction of the outflow of rural residents into towns and neighbouring countries.

In 1961 Mali began setting up production and consumers' cooperatives. The "collective field" was to form the material basis of production cooperatives. Real estate, implements and cattle were socialised. The cooperative assets were made up of initial shares equal for everyone and return funds—shares invested at will by cooperative members who got for

them an annual three per cent interest.

The most remarkable accomplishment of the period was the organisation of mechanised farms of direct management (*régie direct*) within the framework of the state plantation economy Office du Niger. These farms, which occupied a third of the latter's sown areas (other lands were occupied by colons, tenants), provided from 50 to 70 per cent of commercial rice of the entire Office du Niger, its main producer in the country.

Simultaneously an attempt was made to organise commercial cotton growing on the basis of traditional community, using the money and technological aid of the French government company for the development of cotton (CFDT). Throughout the zone of that company's activity cotton was sown on an area of 58,800 hectares by 1968 and since 1960 its output grew 5-fold. Nevertheless, the overall results of agrarian reforms proved uninspiring for some objective and subjective reasons, and the development of commercial farming zones failed to change the general situation. The share of subsistence-type consumption in the gross domestic product, far from decreasing, on the contrary, grew from 31.9 to 37.4 per cent in the period from 1960 to 1967. Partial return to the subsistence economy took place.

Production cooperation was developing too slowly: the size of "collective fields" did not exceed one or two hectares and by the end of 1968 they accounted for a mere 1.3 per cent of the sown areas, while the crop yield was much lower than the country's average.

The principle of voluntary entry into cooperatives was violated and coercion was used in forced production cooperation, with the "collective field" expanded at the expense of individual plots. These cooperatives were often headed by representatives of the traditional nobility who used public funds for the sake of personal enrichment.

It should be pointed out that initially the ability of farming to produce commodities goes down in the majority of countries carrying out agrarian reforms, the more so, the more resolutely the rights of the village nobility are docked, as was the case in Mali, where the nobility was the main supplier, but not producer, of commodity products it received from communal peasants in the form of traditional tributes or payment for the use of land. Emancipation from pre-capitalist exploitation enabled peasants to increase the consumption of products they themselves produce.

However, these quite logical temporary results of the agrarian transformation in Mali were compounded by the "artificial" reduction of commodity production because of increased smuggling and the black market. The driving of cattle to neighbouring countries, bypassing the customs, and the underground sales of grain, which greatly hurt state revenue, were second-hand dealers' response to the nationalisation of domestic and foreign trade.

The government's inflexible policy of purchasing prices coupled with the poorly organised state system of purchasing the agricultural produce enabled private dealers to intercept a considerable part of it at prices slightly higher than the official ones and to earn a profit by selling it in neighbouring countries, where purchasing prices underwent regular increases. At the same time dealers exercised ever growing influence on peasants who willy-nilly became their accomplices. Under the circumstances all measures to combat smuggling and the black market proved fruitless.

The negative consequences of the agrarian reform were aggravated by the disregard for the previously set priorities in the finance programmes of economic development. While extracting resources from farming, the state failed to compensate them by financial and technological aid. Though the first five-year plan (1961-1966) formulated the task of focussing on boosting agriculture, the latter received merely 19 per cent of investments, with the Office du Niger getting half the amount. In the course of implementing the plan it was completely reoriented toward the priority development of industry and the infrastructure.

All this caused stagnation in farming, a drop in the living standards for the main bulk of Mali peasants, below capacity production by industrial enterprises, falling revenues from the export of the agricultural produce and the general worsening of the economic, currency and financial situation in the country.

Nevertheless, despite its numerous shortcomings or rather the negative economic effect, the agrarian reform supplemented with the political education of the mass of the people and the development of the educational system performed a destructive function important in the social respect—directly or indirectly it promoted the withering away of the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the communal peasants and the disintegration of the

commune itself. Its constructive function—the organisation of modern collectively-run farms with high productivity—was not, nor could it be, fulfilled in such a short period, given the almost complete dearth of means, technology and trained personnel.

When all is said and done, the reform of the period cleared the way for individual production and the development of the small-commodity mode of production. Where the latter received considerable material, technological and financial support (the CFDT zone), the results were quite noticeable—the ability of the farms to produce commodities grew rapidly, the peasants' cash incomes increased and they developed a material interest, while the country as a whole got diversified farming, built a raw materials base for the national textile industry and raised its export resources.

When the military came to power in November 1968 a new stage in the country's development began and lasted till mid-1979, when the Democratic Union of the Malian People (DUMP) took control of the country.

The old agrarian policy was revised. The military regime renounced production cooperation and the structures that failed to work in the period of non-capitalist development ("collective fields"), slackened state control over the purchase of agricultural produce, and focussed on strengthening the material and technological base of farming and on raising the peasants' living standards. The period was characterised by the boosted development of export farming and the expansion of the small-commodity mode at the expense of the patriarchal-commune economy.

The changed strategy was reflected in the plans and programmes of Mali's economic and social development for the 1970s, namely, the share of investments in agriculture in keeping with the second five-year plan (1974-1978) nearly doubled and their absolute volume was nine times the corresponding figure in the first five-year plan.

The programme of technico-economic reforms became embodied in the "operations" to boost the production of staple agricultural crops by introducing up-to-date agricultural technology, machinery, fertilizers and means of protecting plants.

The three-year development programme (1970-1972) included four operations—cotton, peanuts, the Upper Niger valley, and rice.

The cotton operation started by the French CFDT company under the

previous regime was most successful. In 1974 it was transformed into the joint *Compagnie Malienne pour le Développement des Textiles* (CMDT), with 60 per cent of its capital belonging to the Mali state and 40 per cent to the CFDT. By the late 1970s Mali annually produced about 150,000 tons of raw cotton (ranking second among the French-speaking African countries). The CMDT did not restrict itself to growing cotton and increasingly diversified production, introducing kenaf and food crops, of which maize became especially widespread.

The technological retooling of agriculture was effected with the help of foreign companies interested, on the one hand, in boosting the production of export crops and, on the other, in stimulating and strengthening small-commodity and small-scale capitalist farms and eventually in fostering the tendencies of the country's dependent capitalist development. After the agricultural boom of 1976, with its good harvest, Mali saw the diminishing production of staple food and industrial crops not only because of unfavourable weather conditions but also as a result of the companies' reduced effort to intensify and modernise the traditional sector, as well as a result of higher prices of agricultural machinery which became inaccessible for the majority of peasants. Besides, the operations encompassed excessively large zones which, given the small density of the population and the shortages of personnel and technological means, led to the scattering of forces.

The military regime partially liberalised domestic trade, delimitating the spheres of activity of state companies and private enterprise. Nevertheless, the latter continued its speculative machinations, worsening the grain problem and raising prices at the domestic market. Finally, the state renounced its monopoly of grain trade to reestablish the inflow of grain from the countryside to towns and to stop smuggling.

As a result of the agrarian transformations carried out by the military regime the ability of farming to produce commodities noticeably grew. More than 70 per cent of the peasants were involved in commodity production, including about 2,000,000 in the zone of the Mali-South operation, 1,300,000 in the peanuts and food crops zone, 54,000 in the Office du Niger and about 150,000 in the rice operation zones.

The inflow of investments (primarily in the form of subsidies) accelerated the rates of growth of the agrarian sector's gross production. During the planned 1974-1978 period they amounted to 29 per cent a year, for

the first time exceeding the population growth rate (2.5 per cent).

There appeared large farms (with an area of from 40 to 100 hectares), which had permanent farm hands, draught animals, ploughs, harrows and even tractors and lorries and made stable high profits (sometimes over a million Mali francs a year). Far from restricting their growth, the administration, on the contrary, helped them in every possible way because they were model farms and the main producers of commercial products. Their owners more strictly adhered to the instructors' advice and were able to pay the companies not only for irrigation (400 kg of rice per hectare) but also for additional services. A considerable portion of their income went for buying draught animals and implements for extended reproduction, the rest being saved. In 1980, 44 per cent of farms used hired labour force and 2.5 per cent had permanent farm hands.

The commune was disintegrating at an increasing rate, and petty-rural bourgeoisie (middle peasants) and small businessmen (well-to-do peasants), who represented the strengthening small-commodity and small-capitalist modes, grew numerically. At the same time greater property differentiation did not spell the complete ruin of the impoverished communal peasants because the majority of the country's regions are not land hungry and the preserved communal structures allow the excess rural population to exist, mitigating the problem of employment.

The Democratic Union of the Malian People, which assumed guidance of the State in June 1979, analysed the two stages in the country's development and the two ways of effecting agrarian transformations and devised a new programme for the agrarian sector.

The party deemed it necessary to return to the policy of cooperation, taking into account the mistakes of the earlier period. The programme envisaged the voluntary organisation of a "village commune" (cooperative) in every village, to be headed by a bu-

reau elected by its members. The commune was to enjoy complete autonomy in determining development trends and guaranteed state aid.

Agriculture is planned to be modernised not just in certain centres in the interests of the well-to-do sections of the peasantry, as is characteristic of the young states developing along capitalist lines and Mali itself at the second stage of its development, but throughout the country and in the interests of all the peasants.

It is an extremely difficult task to implement such a programme, as the economic, currency and financial situation of the country remains tense and the state is unable to buy abroad the necessary amount of up-to-date means of production. Peasants, with the exception of the most well-off, have no money to buy them even on easy terms. If, however, as the programme stipulates, the means of production and consumer goods come through the "commune" and are distributed among all the peasants, the farms that have already moved to commodity production will find themselves at a disadvantage.

It is also unlikely that foreign companies financing the "operations" will agree to scatter their credits for the sake of humanitarian goal—to raise the living standards of the poorest section of the rural population—and renounce their profits from introducing export crops, as well as their primary aim—to direct the country's development along capitalist lines and to foster its dependence within the framework of the world capitalist economy.

In its struggle for economic independence, the Republic of Mali is encountering a good deal of difficulties and going through periods of temporary retreat and social conflicts. Nevertheless the general progressive trend of the socio-political course is retained. This is confirmed by the DUMP's programme, which rejects capitalism as a system of social relations and envisages the country's stage-by-stage development towards socialism with due account of the existing economic, social and political conditions. ■

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LIBYAN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, FOREIGN POLICIES UNDER QADHAFI PRAISED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 51-54

[Article by Anatoliy Yegorin and Vladimir Shagal, candidate of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "Travels and Meetings": "Libya: Distant and Close"]

[Text]

To get a good idea of Libya one has to drive along the motor highway east of the capital in the direction of Misurata, Sirte, Benghazi, Tobruk. The road runs among palm groves along the sky-blue Mediterranean; past fly orange, lemon, pomegranate and olive orchards, melonfields and vineyards. Almost every hamlet boasts a market-place where the traveller is offered all kinds of provisions and a warning: the desert is near-by.

It begins at Misurata — stony, grey-brown, with a constant sand-driving ground wind. Before Sirte, which is halfway between Tripoli and the second largest city of Benghazi, stands, like a sentry, the pointed monument to the heroes of the battle against Italians at Cardabya, where on April 28-29, 1915, the colonisers suffered a shattering defeat from the hands of Libyan patriots.

From Sirte to Benghazi, it's desert all over again, interspersed with green patches of wormwood and burs. Looming in a pale haze at the ports of Sidra, Ras-Lanuf, Mersa el-Brega and others are huge tankers sucking in Libyan oil. Airstrips and radio retransmitter towers, filling stations and oil depots, roads branching off to the south and telegraph poles—all bespeak the throbbing life in this area.

East of Benghazi lies what is perhaps the most beautiful part of the country — Jebel el Akhdar (the Green Mountains). They are overgrown with subtropical thickets and strewn with red and brown stones. It was the hiding place of the detachments of legendary Omar al-Muhtar, a hero of the popular war against the Italians in

the 1920s. As the road winds upward, towards mountain passes, it becomes cooler and the wind grows stronger, while the purple hue of the subtropical landscape makes room for rocks overgrown with pine-trees, with ever present flocks of sheep and goats tended by hospitable shepherds.

The mountains drop at the sea shore where the road makes a sharp right turn into the continent. And again the traveller is faced by the desert, now ash-coloured, tiring and hot, with pale-blue mirages and gigantic candle-like whirlwinds. This is the most gloomy part of the Sahara, called the Libyan Desert. It spreads out monotonously and sleepily to Tobruk, dazzling in the sun with its sandy wrinkles, and farther to Musaid, the extreme point of Libyan territory at the Egyptian border.

Such is Libya through the eyes of a guest and traveller. And what goes on behind these palm-trees, sand-dunes and mountain peaks? Sure enough, going on, as usual, is a life of troubles and triumphs. True, the Libyans are not prone to dwell on troubles, believing them left behind or lying ahead. And as for triumphs the people are not boastful. A typical comment is: "See for yourself, but don't forget that the Libyan revolution is only fourteen years old".

A BIT OF HISTORY

A revolutionary situation in Libya had been shaping up long before September 1, 1969, when the king's throne tumbled down. Languishing under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century, Libya became an

object of aggression by Italian imperialism at the beginning of the 20th century, and after the Second World War fell under the control of British and French military authorities. A UN commissioner who visited Libya in 1951 stated that its people were one of the poorest in the Arab world (the per capita income at that time was \$30).

Destitute and hungry, the Libyans waged a stubborn struggle for independence and finally won it on December 24, 1951, when the national flag was hoisted over Tripoli.

Although the colonial regime was liquidated, Libya, far from freeing itself from foreign bondage, was caught in a new trap set by the neocolonialists. In July 1953, a Libyan-British treaty of friendship and alliance was signed which gave London the right to station its troops in the country. In December 1954, the US foisted on King Idris I an agreement on the status of its major African military air base, Willus Field, kept by the US since the Second World War. Strategic missile launchers, several airstrips and the newest radio facilities were serviced here by 12,000 Americans. The US Air Force used the base to train 600 pilots every year who learned the tricks of bombing on training grounds in the desert and on the shores of the Mediterranean. At the end of 1963, the Americans opened two more air bases in Libya: one in the area of Hasr el Hadj, 300 kilometres south west of Tripoli, the other at al Watia, near the border with Tunisia. No less active were the British military bases in Benghazi and el-Adem (east of Tobruk) which were used by Great Britain as transshipment points when dispatching troops to the Gulf, to Africa and even to the Far East.

The use of these bases in 1967 for transshipment of various supplies to Israel during its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan aggravated the situation in Libya to the extreme, with the anti-imperialist movement acquiring an anti-monarchic tilt, because the court and a handful of corrupt high officials conducted a pro-western policy, betraying the interests of the country which was turned into a virtual domain of neocolonialists.

The country was swept by demonstrations and protest meetings, by strikes of workers and employees. The struggle was led by the Central Committee of an organisation called Free Officers — Unionist-Socialists set up in 1964 in a small mountain settlement of Talmiz in the area of Benghazi. Practical preparations were begun to topple the monarchy. This activity was conducted in strict secrecy and finally met with success.

PATH TO PEOPLE'S POWER

In 1969-1977, Libya's supreme body of power was the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) made up of the leaders of the revolution headed by Muammar Gaddafi. The RCC carried out a number of fundamental political and socio-economic measures in the interests of the working people. First of all it put an end to the foreign military presence in the country. On March 28, 1970, it drove out the British, followed on June 11 by the Americans. Since then these dates have been marked as national holidays. The Willus Field base was renamed after Okba Ben Nafia, an Arab military commander of the 7th century, the base in el-Adem was named after Nasser. In October 1970, 30,000 Italian settlers abandoned Libya, too.

Anti-feudal reforms were put into effect. On April 16, 1973, Gaddafi made a call for "a people's revolution" against old customs, class privileges and social inequality. The country saw the emergence of people's committees, heralding the future system of power, as well as a stepped-up activity of trade union, sports, women's and other public organisations.

Even though the new regime, relying on the army and national patriotic forces, had the backing of broad social strata, life demanded of it a definite answer as to what path to take further. It can't be said that the choice was immediate and without hesitation. The RCC itself had proponents of both socialist and capitalist orientation. Former foreign "masters" of Libya still retained their economic positions in the country, while local exploiters, too, were not going to surrender without fighting. Such conditions called for tough measures. Numerous conspiracies (1969-1975) hatched within and outside the country were smashed. The RCC was relieved of figures who stood for the interests of the rich. But real progress demanded even more.

Reliance on the working people, on all the progressive forces of the country for the common goal — Libya's socialist future — such was the revolutionaries' answer to the question posed by history. On March 2, 1977, a session of the People's Congress at Sebha debated and approved the structure of people's power, formed its bodies and approved a development programme for the country which was called the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (SPLAJ).

The word *jamahiriya* is an Arabic neologism born of the Libyan revolution. It can be conditionally translated as "state of the masses". This is not only a word, not only a declaration, but a whole series of practical

steps testifying to the progressive character of the "Libyan experiment".

Historically consisting of three provinces — Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan — the country was divided into 10 governorates and in 1977 into 45 regions and districts with vertical subordination to the centre, Tripoli. This weakened the parochial and centrifugal tendencies a great deal. The General People's Congress (GPC) became the supreme legislative body and between its sessions the function was to be performed by the GPC's General Secretariat. Executive power began to be wielded by the General Popular Committee made up of 26 secretaries (ministers) heading industrial committees and departments. The structure of local power was transformed in a similar way.

In 1979, Gaddafi and other prominent leaders of the revolution resigned from all their official posts in order, as they stated, "to devote themselves to the more important task of furthering the September revolution and involving the masses to a greater degree into revolutionary transformations". A revolutionary leadership was formed consisting of Gaddafi, Jalloud, Jaber, Kharroby and Khoweildy, and revolutionary committees — "the spurs and checks" of the revolution — were set up in localities. Representatives of trade union, youth, women's and other public organisations entered the membership of legislative bodies, as well as of people's and revolutionary committees. "There can be no democracy without people's assemblies", "Committees—everywhere"—these are the slogans in Libya today.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Heading for the centre of the capital, we walk down a street named after Moughrel, a popular hero of Libya and comrade-in-arms of Gaddafi. Having passed the People's Palace — a former king's residence — we enter the realm of signs and advertisements. Only seven or eight years ago this was a big centre of private trade. Carpets, for example, were put on sale by Musdafa Treiky, cars by Ismail Azzabi, textiles by the Sulracis brothers, etc. Nowadays Libya advertises, not private business, but state firms and the assortment of their wares is not inferior to that of the former days. From the outset the revolutionary leadership has been giving priority to the development of the state sector of the economy. Foreign banks were nationalised and the monetary system underwent reorganisation. In all joint-stock and private companies 51 per cent of capital was taken over by the state. The state sector acquired key positions in the main branches of industry — oil

extraction, petrochemical, engineering, etc. By 1982, the state sector accounted for about 80 per cent of industrial output and 90 per cent of capital investment. At the same time the government did not fully turn away private capital, its investment being on a pretty modest scale: about 2 per cent in industry and 6 per cent in agriculture.

Libya enjoys a firm monetary basis. In 1955, oil was discovered in the desert. An oil boom ensued and a decade later, in 1964, Libya's "black gold" was extracted by 19 foreign companies that obtained 88 concessions on an area of 1,140,000 sq km comprising 65 per cent of the country's territory. By 1967, seven oil pipelines had been built with a total length of 2,600 km. Oil exports resulted in a wealth of petrodollars for the treasury and turned around the country's balance of trade. However, until September 1965 the lion's share of the profits was siphoned off by foreign companies and the rest by the royal family.

The revolutionary leadership gradually took under control all operations of extracting, processing and exporting oil. In 1970, a state company, Linoco, was formed which was given the right of control over 12.5 per cent of the oil extracted in the country. In 1971, the property of British Petroleum was nationalised, and in 1973 American corporations Nelson Bunker Hunt, Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and others suffered the same fate, 51 per cent of whose shares became the property of the Libyan state. The West retaliated with threats against Libya but the young republic showed firmness and the foreign oil monopolies were obliged to make further concessions, having signed agreements which provided for the Libyan government's control of 75 per cent of the oil extracted in the country. This made it possible to substantially increase the inflow of foreign currency. The GNP began to rise rapidly and by 1982 its per capita figure reached almost \$7,000. Over 1969-1982, Libya's total income topped \$80 billion.

The country fulfilled its three-year (1972-1975) plan of development, then its first five-year plan (1976-1980) that laid the basis of industry, power industry, agriculture and solved a number of social problems.

One is impressed by the second five-year plan (1981-1985), envisaging an average annual rate of economic growth of 9.4 per cent. The main goals of the plan are the diversification of the economy, stepped-up development of heavy and other key industries, satisfaction of the main demands of the population in clothes, food and

housing, and speedy training of specialists in technology.

The plan also provides for the construction of a railway line from the Tunisian border to Misurata and further to Sebha, an iron-and-steel works and an oil refinery in Misurata, a second ammonia plant and a second urea plant in Mersa el Brega, a petrochemical port and a thermal power station in Ras-Lanuf, an atomic power station in Sirte, a pipe plant in Benghazi, an atomic research centre in Tajura (near Tripoli) and a dozen of other projects.

SOCIAL CHANGES

Ben Ashur Street in Tripoli displays a chain of fine and luxurious mansions built before September 1969. After the revolution many-storied buildings were added, built by the state and private owners who received plots of land and credits. Later on they began to let flats for exorbitant prices. In 1976, Law No. 88 was issued on the expropriation of spare housing used for profit. In every block of flats the owner was left one flat while the rest were turned over to the needy. Three years later another law was passed that provided for the expropriation of spare immovable property. This did not put an end to the housing problem, of course, but the measures to provide every family with sufficient housing have been warmly welcomed across the country.

Also meeting with much enthusiasm were laws on labour, on social security for the poor strata of the population, on the doubling of the minimum wage, on free medical care, etc. According to Law No. 13 of 1981, for example, all Libyans who reached the age of 60 are guaranteed a pension. Today almost every populated locality has a medical centre.

Impressive changes in the sphere of education can be illustrated by the following figures: in the 1980/81 school year over a million people, i. e., every third Libyan, were embraced by various kinds of education. Thus is translated into life a slogan of the Libyan revolution: "Every Libyan has a right to education". Mass culture is also enhanced by art festivals and numerous exhibitions, expanded publishing activity and the creation of special centres of culture with their libraries, lecture courses, etc. In 1981 there were 176 such centres in the country. Remote districts, oases and nomad camps are served by a network of mobile libraries.

Festivals of Arab music, songs and dancing are very popular in the country. Theatricals in the town of Sabratha are staged in one of the

oldest theatres on earth built in the Roman times.

A significant achievement of the Libyan revolution is the emancipation of women. True, one can still see a lot of women in the streets wearing veils which shows the strength of old traditions. At the same time much activity is displayed by women's youth organisations, there are women's training courses with the board of traffic control, with all ministries and major departments, while Tripoli even boasts a women's military college. In short, Libyan women are full and equal citizens of the country.

"THE SOVIET UNION IS OUR FRIEND"

It seldom rains in Libya but when it does it can be a pretty harrowing experience, especially in the winter. Dry creek-beds are immediately transformed into stormy torrents bringing down from the mountains stones, tree trunks and scorpions.

Once in this kind of weather we found ourselves at the camp of a Soviet soil and ecology expedition in the east of the country, in the district of Shahat. Navvies were making cuts in the soil—digging three-metre-deep holes in the hard ground, botanists were collecting herbariums, chemists were taking rock samples for analysis, topographers were drawing sketches of maps. All in all, it was routine work, hard and thorough. The ground relief excluded the use of any technology except spade and crow-bar. And suddenly the previously blue sky erupted with a torrential rain, bringing water everywhere—into the holes, under the collar, into the mapcases. And a landslide of stones and scorpions from a mountain side.

We took refuge under a thornbush side by side with an Arab shepherd tending a flock of sheep.

"Who are you?" he asked somewhat anxiously.

"Russians".

"What are you doing here?"

"Preparing a map for your agriculture. We learn what soils there are, what crops can be grown on them."

"Quais! (good)" he said.

After the rain we warmed ourselves by the fire. We dried our clothes, cooked dinner and invited the shepherd to partake of our meal.

"We are fond of Russians", said the Libyan. "You help us open up the most inhospitable, God forsaken regions. The Soviet Union is our friend."

The soil and ecology investigations carried out by Soviet specialists along the coast from Tripoli to Derna is only a small part of Soviet-Libyan

economic and scientific-technical cooperation which gained great scope after September 1969.

The Soviet Union was among the first to recognise the new government in Libya after the overthrow of the monarchy. As early as April 1970, Moscow was visited by a broadly representative Libyan delegation which held talks on a wide range of topics. In March 1972, an agreement was signed on economic and scientific and technical cooperation, followed up in May by another six documents on various aspects of bilateral relations. A year later, a Soviet government delegation visited Libya and in December 1976 the leader of the Libyan revolution, Gaddafi, paid a visit to the USSR. In March 1977, Libya's General People's Congress adopted a resolution which stressed that "friendship with the Soviet Union is a strategic line of Libyan policy".

Soviet doctors, geologists, construction workers and hundreds of other specialists have been helping to build up a new Libya. The first pro-

ject of cooperation — an electro-transmission line 190 km long — was commissioned on August 26, 1979. Plans for developing a network of high voltage power lines and the country's gas industry have been drawn up. Work is nearing completion on construction of a centre of atomic research in Tajura (in the suburb of Tripoli) and of the 570-km-long Misurata — Mersa el Brega gas pipe-line, an atomic power station is being built in Sirte, and drilling for oil is going on in the district of Sarir, in the depth of Libyan Desert. Work is in full swing also on other projects that are being completed with Soviet technical assistance.

In 1981-1983, Gaddafi, Jalloud and other Libyan leaders paid regular visits to the USSR which resulted in the signing of agreements that envisage wide participation of Soviet organisations in the development of such branches of the Libyan economy as power, ferrous metallurgy, oil, gas, petrochemical and chemical industries, as well as in the training of Libyan specialists.

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CONSTRUCTION OF NIGERIAN STEEL PLANT WITH SOVIET AID DESCRIBED

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[Article by Vladimir Novikov, "journal's own correspondent in West Africa," under the rubric "From Our Correspondent": "Nigeria: Ajaokuta Steel Plant—a 'Project of the Century'"]

[Text]

The town of Ajaokuta stands on the right bank of the river Niger, in the central part of Nigeria. Only three or four years ago its population hardly numbered one thousand, and its architecture differed little from that of nearby villages. While visiting old Ajaokuta I saw not a single stone structure in its streets.

Since 1979, however, Ajaokuta has been identified on all the maps of the country as a big town. That was the year when Nigeria and the Soviet Union signed an agreement on building there, with the Soviet Union's technical assistance, a steel plant with the full production cycle. The influential Nigerian newspaper *Daily Times* immediately described the plant as a "project of the century". Though high-sounding, the name is justifiable in the Nigerian conditions since until recently Nigeria has met its demand for steel almost entirely through its constantly growing imports. In 1983 steel imports have reached some 4 million tons as compared with half a million tons in 1980. Nigerian and foreign experts have estimated that, by the end of the decade, Nigeria's annual demand for steel will reach 6 million tons. This explains why the state regards as a matter of top priority a programme for developing a national ferrous metallurgy. To coordinate all efforts in that direction a special ministry was set up—the Ministry for the Steel Industry.

The programme envisages the building of 5 steel projects—in Aladja, Jos, Katsina, Oshogbo and Ajaokuta. The latter will be the only one to work on local raw materials. When asked by a foreign journalist why the Nigerian government had decided to give the

contract to the Soviet Union, the minister of iron and steel industry Mamman Ali Makela explained: "If's true, the Russians have offered us beneficial conditions. Technological methods applied in their iron-and-steel industry are advanced yet fairly simple, which makes them suitable for Nigeria. What's more, the Russians were not only the first to respond to our call for help in this particular field, but proved scientifically that Nigeria had all the necessary raw materials."

For a period of seven years beginning with 1960, when the interest in building Nigeria's own metallurgical projects first arose, several groups of American, British, West German and Canadian experts visited Nigeria. The conclusions they arrived at were hardly comforting: Nigeria lacked the necessary raw materials and therefore had to confine itself to the building of rolling mills which would work on imported metal. (Incidentally, this principle was adopted for four other above-mentioned projects, excluding the Ajaokuta plant).

In 1967, under the bilateral agreement for technical and economic co-operation, a group of Soviet experts carried out an on-the-spot geological survey. Its preliminary conclusions were positive. Experts of the group recommended that additional surveys be made to estimate more accurately the ore stocks. Soviet geologists who were entrusted with the job struck ore deposits in Aja, Bopoko, Shokoshoko and Itakpe. The Itakpe ore deposit lies only 60 kilometers off Ajaokuta. Its estimated 310 million tons of ore with an iron content of 36 per cent are expected to provide the plant with raw

material for the next 25 to 30 years. Soviet geologists also discovered deposits of coking coal and of other raw materials needed for steel production. Thus the "project of the century" began to materialise.

On June 18, 1981 President Alhaji Shehu Shagari at a ceremony in Ajaokuta laid the first stone into the plant's foundation. Since then the town has turned into a gigantic construction site spread out on 30 square kilometers. Close to old Ajaokuta, blocks of flats arose on the territory surpassing the old town's locations many times in size. They bear Russian and Ukrainian names such as Cheryomushky or Podol and house today nearly 4,000 Soviet experts. All major sections of the project are being built simultaneously and some have already been or are being commissioned. It's hard to imagine that only recently this area was a cheerless marshy terrain overgrown with bushes.

For a newcomer it's not so easy to get his bearings at the big construction site and understand what is what. At seeing my confusion the Soviet Director-General, in charge of assembly, Ivan Khokhlov advised me that I should start my examination tour from Mill-320 where he himself was going to. On approaching the building where the mill was being assembled I saw a poster with the inscription on it both in English and in Russian: the commissioning is due in... days (the figure is changed every morning, of course). "Heeding the request of the Nigerian government, we'd like to finish the assembly ahead of schedule," my companion explained. This is why the mill assembled by both Soviet and Nigerian workers now gets the constant attention of the Director-General's office. Assembly worker Bonifas Okoro remarks: "I'm sure, the mill will be commissioned by the time required from us. By the way, when the construction of the plant began some of our newspapers carried reports, which asserted that Soviet technology was backward and Soviet equipment was outdated. Together with my workmates I visited metallurgical plants in the Soviet Union and saw for myself that the so-called 'outdated' equipment was excellent. This is hardly surprising, for how then could your country have become the leading producer of steel in the world. After all, the Soviet Union accounts for one in every four tons of steel turned out in the world."

In the middle of July, 1983, the mill was put into operation. The first installation of the steel plant, which is expected to be the biggest in Tropical Africa, came into service. In parallel, the assembly was going on of Mill-150 which was commissioned in December. For some time the two mills will be fed on electricity of a high-voltage

electric transmission line extended from afar. According to the Soviet-Nigerian contract, however, a fuel-fired steam plant with a capacity of 110 megawatts will be built near them. Half of the electricity generated by it will be enough to meet the plant's demand in energy. The other half will be available for the needs of the town and the adjacent areas. Given the chronic shortage of energy the fuel-fired steam plant will make no small contribution to the national energy stock.

The first stage of the steel project is planned to be finished by 1985. Apart from the installations mentioned above it will include a rolling Mill-700, a billet mill, a converter shop, coke-oven batteries and a stock preparation shop. Nigeria's first furnace is scheduled to be blown in by that time. The furnace is being built by a team of Soviet assembly men headed by Vasily Sosyura. Prior to Nigeria Vasily Sosyura worked at the Bokaro iron-and-steel works in India. More than half of the workers in his current team are Nigerians.

"Abu Shekhu came from a nearby village a year and a half ago," says Vasily Sosyura pointing to a young Nigerian who was adjusting the welding set. "He had no training, no experience of work at the construction site. Boys of my crew taught him several building specialities. At present he is mastering a welder's job."

Shekhu has a helper, young Muhammed, who comes from the neighbouring Benue state. He came to work at the construction site a week ago.

"The first steps are the hardest," said the crew leader, smiling. "Soon he, too, will be able to work independently. At Bokaro every Soviet specialist helped train several Indians. We'd like to do the same here. This is our policy. When the plant is put into operation and the testing period is over it will be run only by Nigerians. But the staff must be trained in advance."

The need in specialists is central to the plan to build a national metallurgical industry. The tasks facing the country are not easy ones. Ten thousand workers of almost 30 trades are required to make the first stage of the plant operational. This is why from the very start of negotiations over the Ajaokuta project the Soviet Union offered its help in that area of cooperation as well. Ajaokuta was yet an out-of-the-way place when the plan was drawn up. According to it, the Soviet Union pledged not only to train specialists for Nigeria directly on the construction site but also to take one and a half thousand Nigerians to train at metallurgical factories in the Soviet

Union. In addition the number of Nigerian students at corresponding Soviet colleges was to be increased, and a training centre was to be set up in Ajaokuta where up to 2,000 specialists in 27 trades could be prepared annually. The training centre has been built not far from the future plant—a factor that ensures the natural combination of theory and practice.

Workers from other enterprises come to work at the construction site. Some of them have already had the experience of working together with Soviet people. Before my departure from Ajaokuta I met in a transport pool a Nigerian who spoke fluent Russian. I took him for one of those who once studied or received practical training in the Soviet Union. As it turned out Aiko—that was the name of my new acquaintance—has never been to the Soviet Union.

"I first met Russians at a mixed Nigerian-Soviet WAATECO company selling cars where I once worked. Then for three years I worked on the construction of a 1,000-kilometer-long oil pipeline that the Soviet Union was helping us build. When the pipeline was finished I applied for a job with

Julius Berger, a West German company." But as soon as I heard that construction was beginning, with the help of Russians, of a steel plant in Ajaokuta, I decided to leave Berger and go there. "You ask why I did that?" Aiko looks at me with astonishment. "You probably think that I was tempted by good earnings. No, my earnings at Berger were even slightly higher. But I did not feel I was treated properly there. They made you sweat for every naira. They did not care in the least for labour safety, workers' health or their living conditions. I was unused to such things, since I spent almost 10 years in the company of Soviet people who taught me many trades and helped whenever I had a trouble of some kind. It's my firm resolve now that I will work only at Soviet construction sites. I think there will be many more of them in Nigeria. Well, till we meet at the next project of the Soviet-Nigerian friendship."

Two more years will elapse, and the Nigerian economy will get a project which will be on an equal footing with similar enterprises in highly industrialised countries of the world.

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PROJECTS FOR UN INTERNATIONAL CLEAN WATER DECADE DISCUSSED

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[Article by Boris Porfir'yev, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Man and Nature": "International Decade of Clean Water and Sanitation"]

[Text]

To give all the people clean drinking water and suitable sanitary conditions is one of the acutest socio-economic problems in the developing countries. It is precisely the dearth and pollution of water that is the direct or indirect cause of 80 per cent of fatal diseases there, taking an annual toll of 25 million people, including 13 million children, and also of hundreds of millions of cases of skin and eye diseases. According to foreign press reports, in many arid or semi-arid regions people, for the most part women and children, spend from three to six hours a day to fetch water, losing during their trips about a third of the calories they consume.

In November 1980, the 35th UN General Assembly session proclaimed the 1980s the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, which will hereinafter be known as, simply, the Pure Water Decade. Its ultimate aim is to guarantee a water supply to 100 per cent of the population of the developing countries and improved sanitary conditions for 80 per cent of their urban dwellers and 50 per cent of their rural residents. These are the most general guidelines, while the measures suggested for putting them into effect are of recommendatory nature.

The UN itself undertakes to propagandise the goals and tasks of the Decade, to spread information on the regional and global levels, to satisfy requests from the young states' governments about help in mapping out and implementing projects in the field of water supply and sanitation and to coordinate this help as well as the efforts of the developing countries. With this aim in view an inter-departmental guid-

ing committee was set up under the aegis of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Apart from participating in it, certain specialised UN Agencies, including the UNDP, the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), can independently develop and finance corresponding projects forming part of newly-free countries' current and long-term plans.

To be able to assess the feasibility of the tasks set by the Decade, let us first outline the obtaining situation and then figure out whether the financial and technological resources and the personnel are available for any radical changes.

According to later WHO estimates, 75 per cent of urban dwellers and 29 per cent of rural residents of the young states were provided with clean water in 1980, which averages out to 43 per cent for the entire population, against 38 per cent in 1975. However, the absolute number of people using polluted water is practically the same as a result of the high rates of population growth.

Average figures conceal enormous variations in different countries. For instance, if we take the African continent, according to the data cited by the UN conference on water resources held in 1977 in Mar-del-Plata, Argentina, 94 per cent of the urban and 93 per cent of rural population of Egypt had clean water; official data on Senegal—98 per cent and 74 per cent, respectively—are just as impressive. (It should be said,

however, that the figures cited can hardly be trusted completely because, on the one hand, slums are known to be spreading in cities of these two and many other developing states and, on the other, even the US, the leading power of the capitalist world, cannot boast that 100 per cent of its citizens enjoy a water supply.) The situation is entirely different in Liberia, Kenya and in Madagascar, where the average figure is 17, 12 and 12 per cent, respectively, with a striking gap existing between town and country (100 and 6 per cent in Liberia, 97 and 2 per cent in Kenya, and 87 and 11 per cent in Madagascar). Gabon, where only one per cent of the population has access to clean drinking water, is in the most deplorable situation.

It should be added that there are seasonal and even daily stoppages of water supply in the developing countries. More than half the population (up to 90 per cent in Southeast Asia) who in principle enjoy clean water supply have it only for several hours a day. The main cause of the situation is the imperfect system and irrational, as a rule, excessively intensive utilisation of water supply systems and the lack of spare parts and personnel to repair them. For instance, some old districts in Dacca, capital of Bangladesh, on one occasion had to do without water for a year and a half. According to other estimates, from 15 to 50 per cent of purified water is lost due to leaks and accidents. In other words, it is not enough to say that some district has a water supply system to conclude that water supply is reliable and adequate.

Needless to say, the foregoing refers only to those instances when authoritative bodies of one country or another indeed sought to obtain objective information, which for various reasons might prove to be incomplete or incorrect. Then there are cases of giving deliberately false data, exaggerated so as to prove that a given state is "more developed" as compared with others or understated so as to stimulate increased foreign aid.

Anyhow, two facts are obvious. First, in agricultural areas the problem is more acute than it is in towns (though poor urban residents are often in worse shape compared with the rural residents who can at least choose between several sources of water supply, unless it is the case of desert zones). Second, along with a certain general growth of clean water supply for the people, there are noticeable fluctuations as far as their figure is concerned (up to its complete fall) in different countries and regions.

The aforementioned peculiarities were largely caused by the fact that the majority of the newly-free states fol-

low Western models in this field, models which presuppose supplying high-quality water to those who can pay for it, covering the expenses for the building and operation of water-supply system. Meanwhile the essence of the problem—the dearth of clean water—is being ignored. In the towns and cities of developing countries the level of water consumption in per capita terms has been set at present within the boundaries of from 10 to 20 litres a day, that is, much lower than the minimum recommended by WHO.

In this connection it is pertinent to touch upon the criteria of the quality of water. The developing countries are now guided by the WHO standard, according to which, water containing in a number of samples at least one colibacillus (agent of gastro-enteric diseases) per 100 ml (milliliter) should not be used by man. Experts, however, seriously question the universality of this indicator. Apparently, it is suitable for industrially developed states in the moderate climatic zone, as well as for the urbanised zones in the developing countries (most of which are situated in the tropical zone) but not for the latter's rural areas where, if this standard is strictly adhered to, a considerable portion of water consumed today would be considered unsuitable for use, which would only exacerbate the "water crisis". At any rate, it seems that the overwhelming majority of the newly-free states would be able to reach the WHO standard (if it is recognised legitimate) only after the Decade is over, by gradually raising requirements to the quality of water.

Therefore, we believe that a number of leading experts in water problems have made fairly justified proposals that a more flexible standard be developed, capable of taking into account local characteristics, the risk of infection, the number of water consumers, its present quality, the size of investment in building water-supply, etc., and ensuring a fairly good quality of water compared with the existing one rather than the technically attainable top-most quality of water. Otherwise, a lot of people would for long be deprived of drinkable water in general for financial reasons.

In addition, expert publications have pointed to the need to change the approach to some sanitation problems. For example, until quite recently sewerage was considered to be the only satisfactory method of removing faeces. Yet this process requires a large amount of water that is in short supply (50 litres per kilogram of substance removed), as well as an investment sizeably exceeding the upper limit of water-supply expenditures in the developing countries, which was estimated by IBRD experts

as equalling 5 per cent of an average family's income. Besides, the system fails to remove moribund microbes, which find their way into river water used for drinking. In this way sewerage is justified in towns but hardly applicable in rural areas.

It is obvious that in the developing countries, where the majority of the population are poor, comparatively cheap methods of collecting underground waters, protecting springs and wells from pollution and arranging simple toilet facilities should be used in coping with the tasks envisaged by the Decade programme.

Throughout the developing world (with the exception of several oil-producing countries with the highest per-capita incomes) there exist financial limitations impeding the accomplishment of the tasks of the Decade. IBRD experts estimated in 1980 that the overall spending within the framework of the Decade programme could amount to from \$30 billion (lower estimate) to \$60 billion upper estimate (in terms of 1978 prices), that is to say, no less than \$82.2 million a day (1). (In theory such a possibility exists: after all the arms race alone consumes \$1.4 billion daily on the entire globe and \$240 million more are daily swept away with tobacco smoke). Even the lower estimate means that the annual investment should grow from 4 to 4.5 times as compared with the 1979 level or 10 times as compared with the average level of the preceding decade. It should be borne in mind that this estimate includes only capital investment and does not include costs for servicing and repairing the equipment. Meanwhile, according to the UN estimates, from 40 to 80 per cent of simple devices, such as hand-pumps, break down in the developing countries during the first three years after being installed.

The bulk of the money necessary for the implementation of the Decade programme should be appropriated by the newly-free states themselves, with foreign aid defined as amounting to 20-30 per cent. This can be realistic, however, only provided the national governments revise the priorities of their development, which at the moment include the resolution of the food, housing and power problems and the elimination of poverty. Wherever such a revision was carried out, the results are inspiring. For instance, Bangladesh has made the supplying of water to villages as one of the key goals of its development strategy and now 55 per cent of its rural residents enjoy water supply, whereas in neighbouring Pakistan and Nepal the corresponding figures are 17

and 5 per cent, respectively. In the past eight years or so Sudan, aided by the UN, succeeded in ensuring almost 100 per cent water-supply for the half million people of Bahr-El-Gazal province, while Malawi did the same for the 75,000 inhabitants of the Western Mulange region.

The problem of financing the Decade programme is aggravated by the fact that the developing countries often use unjustifiably expensive up-to-date technology for water-supply, sewerage and for removing waste. This is explained by the desire of national planning bodies to have everything of the best, disregarding the local characteristics, and also by the striving of foreign producers to "push" their commodities onto new markets.

As for foreign aid, the present-day tendency is to render it on a bilateral basis rather than through international organisations, the fact that raises the question of its reliability and makes the coordination of aid more complicated. Donor states offer various types of equipment so that it subsequently turns out difficult to provide it with spare parts and even daily service. For example, during the catastrophic drought in 1972 in Ethiopia the local personnel failed to quickly learn how to operate the numerous types of pumps delivered by Western firms. As a result thousands of thirst-ridden people lost their lives!

It is hardly possible to forecast the size of foreign aid and how regularly it will be rendered, though: some international finance organisations have voiced their readiness to increase their subsidies to the developing countries for water-supply and sanitation purposes. For instance, the IBRD intended to raise the corresponding appropriations from \$300 million on average a year (in the period from 1974 to 1978) to \$700 million a year (in the period from 1979 to 1983). So far there has been no information about the extent to which that promise was kept; in any case the question remains open as to whether it merely meant to redistribute the total amount of credits and loans, cutting aid in other key directions.

Nevertheless, UN experts who masterminded the Decade programme deem it feasible. The financial and technical limitations described above are planned to be overcome by building simpler and cheaper water-supply and sanitation projects, for which materials can be produced locally. At the same time sanitary norms should be kept at the lowest admissible level. It was envisaged to step up comprehensive aid to the young states in the given field through international organisations. Indeed, already in the first year of the Decade, the

Children's Fund and the UN Development Programme, as well as the IBRD, allocated \$603 million to 15 countries, the main providers of water-supply and sanitation equipment and services, including one developing country—India. But the lion's share of corresponding deliveries, as before, comes from the leading capitalist powers: 25 per cent from the US and France, 15 per cent from Japan, and 13 per cent from the FRG. The equipment they make will be sent to consumers in Asian, African and Latin American countries, where it is either not produced or produced in insignificant amounts.

By October 1981, 55 developing countries had established inter-departmental committees, which started working out action programmes to implement the tasks set by the Decade.

Many authoritative figures, nevertheless, do not share the UN experts' optimism. It is symptomatic that Asit K. Biswas, President of the International Society for Ecological Modelling and the Vice-President of the International Water Resources Association, has voiced the following opinion: "In a world full of resolutions on targets and designated decades for different areas, national and international interest in a specific area often tends to be ephemeral. One is reminded of a resolution of World Food Conference in 1974, which stipulated that no child should go to bed hungry by 1984—even today that target appears hollow indeed." He is similarly sceptical about the Decade underway at present, whose programme already now faces and will face grave shortages of money to put it into effect: "...It is all very well to point out that the total cost of the Decade would not be great in comparison to global military spending of \$500 billion a year or that North American and European consumers currently spend on tranquilisers one half the amount of external aid required for the success of the Decade. But there are no signs that expenditures for either purpose will be reduced in the near future or that if they were the savings would be channelled to provide clean water to all." That his opinion was justified is

proved by cuts in foreign aid in this field in 1981-1982, in particular by the FRG and Sweden, which was largely caused by worsening economic situation in these countries and the capitalist world as a whole.

To radically revise the developing countries' approach to the problems of water and sanitation is a no less, if not even more, complicated task than to find the means. This calls for the solution of a number of social problems connected with shattering archaic traditions and raising the educational and cultural standards of the mass of the people. Even the observance of the most elementary hygienic rules often runs counter to age-old habits. For instance, the inhabitants of many regions, often not very remote from urban centres, continue using extensively fields and rivers as latrines. Many peasants continue taking polluted water from crude wells in the belief that it cannot be the cause of premature death, which is, they are sure, a manifestation of "God's will". Even quite a few of the urban residents do not know how to keep water correctly, are not very careful about drinking water outside their homes (especially children) and, if the water pipe or water fountain break down, they do not hesitate to use the old spring which is far from clean.

Under the circumstances, attempts to resolve the water-supply and sanitation problems from "above", by decree, are doomed to failure. Among other things, extensive programmes are necessary to train both expert operators and the entire population using new water-supply systems.

On the other hand, the measures envisaged by the Decade programme in themselves would not automatically result in a dramatic improvement of the people's health, which is also affected by the quality of diet, housing conditions, medical services and other social factors. This programme should be implemented in the general context of progressive socio-economic reforms. Not until this is done will the Decade be able to fulfil its humane mission, if only partially accomplishing the goals set by the late 1980s. ■

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FRG, U.S. BOOKS ON AFRO-ASIAN SOCIALIST REGIMES REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 1, Jan 84 pp 62-63

[V. Boyko review of 'States Without Nations: Socialism as the Power Factor in Asia and Africa' (Stuttgart, 1981) and by H. Bechtoldt and 'Afrocommunism' (New York, 1981) by D. and M. Ottaway: "Crisis of Bourgeois Political Theory"]

[Text]

What are the main prerequisites for newly-free country to choose a socialist path of development? H. Bechtoldt (FRG), in answering this cardinal question argues that such choice is made in a purely random fashion. He believes that the leaders of the national liberation movement rather arbitrarily "identified capitalism with colonialism" which allegedly almost "automatically" brought them into the ranks of socialists. Developing his model further, the author in fact refutes the popular character of revolutions in Asian and African countries, which allegedly were completed almost everywhere by the "establishment of the sway of new elites" (p. 11). With the help of such "macrosociologist" generalisation, the bourgeois author attempts to give a single socio-political assessment to most diverse state systems in the Afro-Asian world—from authoritarian-bureaucratic to revolutionary-democratic.

It is indicative that such approach is rejected by western liberal-bourgeois political theorists. For example, D. and M. Ottaway, speaking of the prerequisites for the emergence of the revolutionary ideology in African countries, fairly maintain that its spread in the continent was the result of the radicalisation of nationalism that occurred during the long years of struggle. They are obliged to admit that the ruling groups in such countries as Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia came to power on the backwash of revolutionary struggle.

The authors of the books under review take a different approach to the tasks of socialist orientation in Afro-

Asian countries. H. Bechtoldt regards socialism as nothing but an "instrument" helping leaders to win political power, create its structure, and also monopolise and legalise these achievements (p. 17). Thus, the bourgeois scholar completely ignores the fact that the winning of political power is, though a most important, but only the initial stage of fundamental social transformations.

H. Bechtoldt's subjectivist methodology gave rise to a profoundly erroneous and arbitrary typology of socialist trends in Afro-Asian countries: in the evolution of a big group of countries only some outward traits of their socio-political orientation have been noted. The attempt by H. Bechtoldt to single out so-called anti-communist socialism in Singapore, which at the same time is declared to be most prosperous economically and socially, is quite untenable (p. 191). In our day and age, it is no secret that the "socialist" aspirations of the big national bourgeoisie are nothing but a means for etatisising a part of nationalised property.

The authors also attack the practice of forming revolutionary-democratic parties in the newly-free countries which embark on socialist orientation. Bourgeois political theorists, proceeding from the experience of some ruling parties, which under the influence of nationalistic views and subversive activities of the right-wing forces abandoned socialist orientation, are trying to praise to the skies so-called "Afrocommunism". What are the latter's criteria? According to D and M. Ottaway, it is based on a radical re-making of society, central planning

and state control. In foreign policy it is the recognition of their countries as part of the international community, vigorous efforts to change the world order, and not merely the desire to find its own place at its periphery, adherence to the cause of socialism as the so-called "free agents" equal among other socialist states. However, the main feature of "Afrocommunist strategy" is the "autonomous nature" and, as much as possible, "confrontation" with the Soviet Union and other countries of the world socialist community. Hence, internationalist catchwords and declarations in word and anti-socialist and nationalistic in deed.

H. Bechtoldt openly tries to compromise the theory of socialist orientation, to stress the "specific" or, to be

more precise, nationalistic, tinge of socialist ideas in some countries of the region. The insistent advocacy by H. Bechtoldt of the concept of so-called "equidistance" of the young sovereign states which he interprets as rapprochement with the West, is closely connected with this stand.

D. and M. Ottaway examine, though somewhat differently, the same concept of "rapprochement", between neocolonialist West and postcolonial Afro-Asian world. These authors favour partial revision of the excessively straightforward and negative US policy as regards the young Afro-Asian states, since destabilisation of the latter may easily turn against American interests in the continent (see p. 214).

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GHANIAN BOOK ON ETHNICITY, POLITICAL INTEGRATION REVIEWED

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[N. Pankova review of 'Ethnicity and Political Integration: the Case of Ashanti Ghana' (Syracuse University, 1982) by M. K. C. Morrison: "Ethnic Self-Consciousness and Political Integration"]

[Text]

M. K. C. Morrison, Dr. Sc. (Philos.), a Ghanaian researcher, now living in the USA, undertook the task of defining the theoretical and empirical aspects of interrelationships between ethnic self-consciousness and political integration. The author is interested in the specific features of integrational processes, above all, in the African region. He made an attempt to establish how the problem of political integration is successfully tackled in practice and reveal the degree of the significance of integration with the entire country for an individual people.

The author associates integration with the process whereby the population becomes aware of itself as a member of a concrete state. He writes that on the basis of European experience two views on the process of integration have evolved: as unification for the sake of common goals based on a homogeneous culture and as consolidation of a new culture based on heterogeneous cultures. He singles out three integrational models: a model of functional interdependence, of interaction and of convergent value orientations. Examined in this work is the model of interaction between the central government and subgovernmental ethnic entities. The author notes both positive and negative interaction, but in distinction from many scholars, he believes that even negative interaction not always plays a disintegrating role.

Morrison is rather critical of the opinion that African states are all but the most disintegrated in the world, yet he recognises that the ethnic factor in Africa plays an ever more prominent role. It is his opinion, however,

that the intensification of the process of ethnic consolidation does not hinder the processes of national integration. An important integrational factor, in the author's view, is urbanisation, since it is in cities that cultural interaction is most intensive.

These theoretical premises underlie a sociological field study carried out in Ghana in the 1970s in the Ashanti region, the people, of which has a strongly pronounced ethnic self-consciousness. But there are also numerous migrants there who actively assimilate the cultural values of the Ashanti people, thus promoting the extension of the regional culture, on the one hand, and inter-regional contacts, on the other. All this creates, in the author's view, a typical model of a polyethnic entity, characteristic not only of Ghana, but of many other African countries as well.

The field materials were collected by the method of interviews and an inspection of homesteads in four populated areas with different degrees of urbanisation. The questioning of 333 persons was conducted in the local Twi dialect. Archive materials and statistical data were also employed.

The author takes into account the age, sex, education, occupation and place of residence of his subjects, rightly believing them to be important social characteristics influencing the opinions of people. During the interviews he learned the extent to which the subjects were aware of the local, regional or government administration and political activity, in order to establish the degree of their interest in such activity. They were also asked to provide a logical substantiation of

their ethnic identity so as to reveal what, from their point of view, determines the ethnical status of an individual: culture, language, paternal or maternal descent, membership in a clan or the immediate feeling of belonging to his people. In addition, he revealed the position of his subjects in regard to their own and other ethnic groups, their assessment of the role of contemporary and traditional political institutions, and also the interrelations between them, etc.

Analysing his subjects' answers, the author finds confirmation to his basic hypothesis on the compatibility of ethnic consolidation and national integration. The Ashanti people revealed in all strata of the population sufficiently clear-cut ethnocentric attitudes, for example, in replies to the question about the sentiment of pride in their ethnic group and the advisability of a political party being based on ethnic principles. At the same time, he revealed among them positive attitudes to contacts with the country's government and local administrative bodies

representing it. All subjects displayed a sense of pride for their country, which stems, according to the results of the questioning, from Ghana's international role.

Positive features of this work, in our view, are the following important methodological premises: recognition that the activity and interaction of ethnic entities with the central government is a key factor in national integration; a hypothesis on the possible coexistence of ethnocentric and integrational tendencies at the given stage in the political development of African countries; a hypothesis on the differences of socio-demographic groups according to their role in the integration process. The author also posed the question of the influence of concrete economic and political situations on the development of ethnic processes. He designated this phenomenon by the special term "situational ethnicity". The further elaboration of this question may make a useful contribution to the theory of ethnic processes.

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INTERNATIONAL

ROTHSCHILDS, SCHNEIDERS BLAMED FOR RISING FRENCH MILITARISM

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Ernst Genri: "What Kind of Game are the Rothschilds Playing?"]

[Text] Last time I wrote about the fact that many people in the Soviet Union and abroad are surprised by England's aggressive policy (See SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 16 September 1983). This time it is worth talking about the surprise which several aspects of France's foreign policy arouses. The president of that country is the leader of a socialist party, and the government consists of representatives of the leftist forces, which were victorious in the last parliamentary elections. Nonetheless, France, which, as is well known, left the NATO military organization during de Gaulle's time, is now once again coming closer to the North Atlantic bloc and participating actively in its military maneuvers, which are aimed at the socialist countries. How can this be explained?

Can it be explained by any actions of the Soviet Union against France? There have not been any and no one could think there had been. By any conflicts between France and the socialist states in any region of the world? No, nothing of this kind has been observed anywhere.

So what is prompting Paris to move closer to the Atlantic circles in the West now?

Maybe it would be better to pose the question in a more specific way. What forces in France are operating in this direction?

It is clear that the discussion does not center on the working people. But recently something else has become increasingly noticeable. Despite the measures which France has implemented on the nationalization of a number of industrial and financial enterprises, some circles there are nevertheless sufficiently influential to attempt to win the country over to the anti-Soviet policy which the USA and NATO are conducting.

We have in mind the French military-industrial complex. This complex exists here, as it does in the USA, FRG, England and Japan. Whom does it include?

The French military-industrial complex differs specifically in the fact that it is headed more by bankers than by industrial firms. But the billionaires and multi-millionaires, who think only about their own selfish interests, conduct military affairs, and as it happens, not without success.

Undoubtedly, the Rothschild financial dynasty should be named first. Their bank, which has existed for more than 170 years now, has always been mixed up in international politics: whole books have been written about this. Some people assumed that by now the Rothschilds had left the scene. This is not true. They are still on stage, both in Paris, as well as in London and a number of other Western capitals; they continue to be engaged in big business, only without particular publicity, usually on the quiet, using various individuals and firms as fronts. Although formally the French branch of the Rothschilds' international bank has been nationalized, their financial dynasty, which is rolling in billions, has not been liquidated; its affairs continue, and moreover, their major branch in London is still in operation.

Today the Rothschilds' financial and political might can only be compared to the banks of the Rockefellers, Morgans and the "California group" in the USA. But the Rothschilds receive much less publicity because, in keeping with their tradition, they prefer not to show themselves in public.

Today, however, the direct and to a great extent the indirect participation of the Rothschilds in the French military-industrial complex is an indisputable fact. Like the leading monopolists in the USA, West Germany and England, they are especially interested in the super-income nuclear missile business. They do not head any atomic trust or missile-aviation corporation of their own. But they possess large deposits of uranium in various countries and through their own trusted people they also play a main role in a number of private and state-monopolistic enterprises in the military-electronics, atomic shipbuilding and missile industries.

The State Commissariat on Atomic Energy Affairs, which was established by the French government after the war, distributes the nuclear orders which are placed; it was headed by a relative of the Rothschilds, Bertrand Goldschmidt, and former engineer Raul Dotri. In Perlatte (in the south of France) the Rothschilds participated in the construction of a plant which makes explosives for the production of hydrogen bombs and fuel for nuclear-powered submarines. They also possess deposits of copper, lead,

zinc, bauxite, manganese, and they are represented in petroleum companies. But their "holdings" in the political scene are even more significant.

At one time the Rothschilds were renowned for the fact that by means of loans, supplies and direct subsidies they set one state against another, profiting in this way. Dozens of the most prominent politicians in Europe entered their orbit, and in bourgeois circles this was considered to be in the nature of things. That is the way it was and will be, said knowledgeable people. And do the Rothschilds have these same "contacts" in our day, when people face the threat of a terrible nuclear catastrophe?

It is enough to recall that two French premiers in the 50's and 60's, R. Meyer, and G. Pompidou, were general directors of the Rothschilds' Paris bank before they switched to government service. It is a fact, too, that this same dynasty has in recent decades engaged in the nuclear business; for the politics of the French bourgeoisie this means quite a lot. This, it goes without saying, influences France's foreign policy as well.

In addition, it should be taken into account that for a long time the upper French bourgeoisie has supported close links with the rightist military circles, i.e., with those who have traditionally hated socialism and who wait with impatience for the defeat of the leftist forces. In France, too, the rightist military clique comprises at present an important and inseparable part of the military-industrial complex. In the past it supported Laval and the "Munichites." Today its representatives are supporters of the Atlantic bloc, the military organization out of which General de Gaulle himself led France. They are all waiting for their hour.

It is not just the Rothschilds, of course, who participate in the Paris military-industrial complex. Increasingly active and influential French businessmen are being drawn into the arms business because military profits greatly exceed all other forms of income, and, in particular, they remind French capitalists of their previous colonial profits. Moreover, in a quantitative sense the re-arming of France since the war represents for them an unusually broad market.

Today France is considered the third nuclear power of the capitalist world. From 1975 through 1980 its nuclear might more than doubled. It is proposed to increase this might three-fold by 1990. France has in its arsenal land-based ballistic missiles and ballistic missiles on five atomic powered submarines, Mirage-III bombers, Jaguars, etc. In the current year the plans call for expenditures for the production of nuclear missiles to be increased by 14.4 percent, and expenditures for the construction of missile-carrying submarines by 26.2 percent. It is well known

that the military industrial complex has been provided with orders for many years ahead. No fewer than 830 billion francs have been set aside for the implementation of the government's five-year program. What percentage of this amount will go to the Rothschilds?

Participating with them in these matters is the "rifle king" Schneider, the old supplier of conventional weapons in France. His company (in the past it was called Schneider Creseau) has also existed for more than 100 years. At one time it, along with Krupp, dominated the European market in guns and military ships. The tsarist government also had large dealings with this company. During the First World War France's ambassador to Petersburg, Maurice Paleologue, was a Schneider man and one of the main inspirers of anti-Soviet intervention.

The Schneiders, like the Rothschilds, had their own people in the Senate and in the government and looked for support to figures with more right-wing views. Among the well-known reactionaries there were few who were not mixed up in the affairs of the military concerns. The military-industrial complex in France actually existed even before the First World War. For example, the vice-president of the board of the Nobel Dynamite Trust was then the brother of Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau. Today the pursuit of profitable military contracts is taking place in France at an accelerating pace. Next year France's expenditures for military needs are to be increased by 6.6 percent.

The former Schneider "rifle kings" are still engaged in military shipbuilding, but now it is from the nuclear angle of vision. They invest their own capital in atomic electronics. As part of this, they are once again linking their affairs with the rightist politicians. The oligarchical de Vapdeley family, which was allied with them, for a long time enjoyed the services of Robert Schuman, minister of foreign affairs, who signed the North Atlantic Pact for France in 1949.

Participating in the arms market, like an infection which has encompassed these circles, are the monopolistic Suez group (in which the former Suez Canal Company and the Bank of Indochina merged) and the Paris-Netherlands Bank (Pari-bas) group. Behind the Suez group there are old colonial millionaires, who were expelled from Indochina and the Near East; behind Pari-bas there are clerical Catholic circles, who have by no means lost their influence, and not just on the stock market, as in Maupassant's time. These two groups control about one fifth of the total assets of all French companies. Many deputies are maintained by one or the other of these companies. These are also the devoted friends of NATO. Although both banks, as credit institutions, have been nationalized, their industrial enterprises remain in private hands.

In this way old French capitalism, which retains its forces despite the leftist power in Paris, is trying in its turn to focus on big military business. The Rothschilds, Schneiders, Suez clients and Pari-bas and their allies are trying not to lag behind their competitors in the FRG and England, using the resources of the public exchequer for the development of the missile and nuclear business in France. For example, not so long ago a consortium for the production of tactical missiles and other combat equipment was set up in Paris under the name of the Euromissile Dynamics Group. Participating on France's side was the state monopolistic concern Aerospatiale, headed by the former commander of France's strategic aviation, G. Mitterand. But both the actual leaders of the concern are representatives of the group of businessmen who started the missile business in France.

The management also included a representative of the Pechine-Kuhlman chemical-atomic monopoly and other participants, including the English company British Aerospace and the West German Messerschmitt Company. From each of them there extends a multitude of threads to other firms in France and abroad. Once again the internationalization of the military business is present!

Judging by everything, this is only the beginning. In Paris, London and Munich it is clear that they are counting on supplying the NATO countries with at least those missiles and other nuclear armaments which the United States will not be supplying. This is not only a division of the markets, but also a division of the roles in the implementation of a joint militaristic policy. Is this not one of the reasons why a growing inclination toward the NATO side has been observed recently in Paris in the respective circles?

It is also interesting that J. Chirac, a leader of the rightist forces in France stands not only for the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe but also for West Germany's right of open access to nuclear weapons. When hearing this, people of the older generation cannot fail to recall Munich.

France is a great country; for centuries it has been one of the centers of world culture. Its future is not in the nuclear business. Neither the Rothschilds, the Schneiders, the Suez and Pari-bas banks can be considered representatives of the French people. France's future both in economics and in politics is inseparable from the cause of peace, from its good-neighborly co-existence with all countries.

At one time the dark shadow of pro-fascist collaborationism hung over France. Today the threat from the pro-NATO anti-popular forces is gathering; in the thick of it hide those who deal in the weapons of mass destruction and the professional anticommu-

nists, who dream about the restoration of the Vichy regime. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen are against nuclear war. Aside from the unconcealed fascists, there is no party in the world which would welcome an atomic babel. But the military-industry complex in France, as in the USA, the FRG and England, operates counter to the vital interests of the nation.

Although the French companies' share of profits in the international alliance of military monopolies is comparatively small, and although the fate of France in the event of a nuclear war unleashed by the United States and NATO is clear to everyone who looks at a map of Europe, these forces continue to influence Paris's foreign policy in the interests of the Atlanticists.

Something else is just as obvious: behind the scenes there are those who dream only of creating in France a kind of reactionary regime that has not been seen in all the postwar period. Here the internal policy comes together with foreign policy!

All honest Europeans hope that this time the French people will restrain those who prevent them from living in peace. After all, as it says in the Testament of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, "we live even now in too fragile a world."

8543

CSO: 1807/112

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET TV FILM PORTRAYS AMERICANS AS CRIMINALS

[Editorial Report] Moscow TELEVIDENIYE I RADIOVESHCHANIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 15 Nov 83) pp 26-27 carries a 1,500-word article on a made-for-Soviet-TV detective drama called "Mirage" based on a novel by D. Chase called "The Whole World in My Pocket." The movie portrays the "American dream of getting rich at no matter what cost--even crime." The article states that while recreating the atmosphere and mores of another country is difficult, the film makers succeeded. The movie was made by Lithuanian film studios.

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SOVIET TV FILM BASED ON NOVEL BY IRWIN SHAW

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian 0045-0200 GMT 1 Feb 84 began showing a Lithuanian-made TV film based on the novel by Irwin Shaw "Rich Man, Poor Man." The film, made in Russian, is introduced with pictures of bombs and missiles and background music of Elvis Presley singing "America the Beautiful."

CSO: 1830/313

ASSISTANT EDITOR OF PRAVDA CITES NEED FOR ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTATION

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 20 Dec 83) pp 6-8

[Article by Dmitriy Valovoy, deputy chief editor of PRAVDA, doctor of economic sciences: "Experimentation in the Economy"]

[Text] The possibility of economic experiments was for a long time denied. We recall with what stubbornness individual economists proved the impossibility of conducting them. Here, some referred to the position of K. Marx expressed in the foreword to the first volume of "Das Kapital," that in the analysis of economic forms it is impossible to use either the microscope or chemical reactions. Both of them should be replaced by the strength of abstraction."

In economics everything is interlinked and mutually conditioned. The economic units in which experiments are conducted cannot be isolated from the surrounding conditions and the production relations established both vertically and horizontally with numerous partners. Accordingly to conduct an experiment in a pure form, as is done in chemistry, physics, mechanics and the other natural sciences, is truly complex. Nevertheless, life has convincingly confirmed that it is possible and necessary to conduct experimental checks on new principles and methods in the management of the economy, the indicators used to evaluate work, and the systems of material incentive.

During the Sixties economic experiments gradually became increasingly widespread. And here the journalists played a not unimportant part. Material on the experiment by the Saratov people, who had devised a system for defect-free manufacture of output, on the introduction of the Novocherkassk method of continuous operational-production planning, on the famous Shchekino method, and on many other innovations, was regularly published in the press. The press devoted particular attention to the numerous experiments conducted on the eve of the economic reform in 1965.

In recent years, when the party and government have outlined a course toward accelerated technical progress and the accomplishment on this basis of the transfer of the national economy onto modern industrial rails, experiments have become a regular phenomenon. And now, unfortunately, during this period attention to them on the part of a number of newspapers and journals has noticeably declined. Now, for example, an original experiment is being conducted in Poti city in the Georgian SSR. A territorial-intersector

association has been formed there. It includes 57 enterprises and organizations in the city. Through joint efforts they are resolving many interdepartmental problems. Thanks to the coordinated actions of the association members they have started to make better use of the production capacities in the city, the output of consumer goods has increased significantly, and transportation is being utilized more rationally.

Journalists should be paying attention to the experiments to improve wages for designers and technologists in the production associations of the Izhorsk Plant imeni A.A. Zhdanov, the Leningrad Metallurgical Plant imeni XXII s'yezda KPSS, the Nevskiy Plant imeni V.I. Lenin, the Elektrosila Plant imeni S.M. Kirov and the Leningrad Electromechanical Plant. The purpose of the experiment is to enhance the responsibility and material interest of workers in the design and technological services of the associations in raising the technical level and quality of work, reducing metal consumption and labor- and energy-intensiveness in production, and carrying out a greater volume of work with smaller staffs.

The conducting of economic experiments is now becoming an important lever in improving the economic mechanism. They are making it possible to demonstrate the advantages and the less attractive aspects of new methods and indicators before their mass introduction. At his meeting with party veterans, Yu.V. Andropov said: "In an economy of the scale and complexity of ours it is essential to be particularly careful. Here, as nowhere else we see the truth of the adage 'measure seven times, cut once.' This is precisely why, when major decisions are being made we try scrupulously to study each question and conduct large-scale experiments..."

And what are these experiments?

In July 1983 the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree on additional measures to extend the rights of associations and enterprises. In order to check the measures outlined in the decree, it was simultaneously proposed to conduct an economic experiment in five ministries, namely the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of the Food Industry, the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry, and the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Local Industry.

In light of this document the Council of Ministers adopted a separate decree for each ministry, taking into account its specific nature, and on the basis of these decrees the USSR Gosplan jointly with other central economic administrations drew up methodological instructions for conducting the experiment. The main aim of the experiment is, by means of additionally extending the rights of associations and enterprises in their economic activity, to create for them conditions "of real managerial interest in achieving high production efficiency and strengthening responsibility for work results."

"How, specifically, have the rights of the enterprises been extended?" I asked one participant in the upcoming experiment, the director of the Yuzhdizelmash Association of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, V. Akhrameyev.

"Let us start with planning. The role of the associations and enterprises has been strengthened in working out the five-year and annual plans, beginning with the preparation of the drafts. Plan compilation will be effected on the basis of control figures and limits for material-technical resources and economic norms, and also on the basis of direct, long-term economic links and orders from USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Trade organizations.

"The extension of rights has many aspects. In particular, with the agreement of the trade union committee we shall now be able to establish through savings in the wages fund additional payments added to the wage rates for highly skilled workers for professional skills (up to 24 percent of the wage rate), and also additions for highly skilled engineering and technical workers and employees (up to 50 percent of salary for the post). Finally, we can make additional payments for combining professions or duties without confirmation of a list by a higher organ; and we can establish personal additional payments for highly skilled workers engaged in especially important and crucial work, up to R250 per month. In addition, we have been given the right to independently resolve questions concerning utilization of the social-and-cultural fund and housing construction.

"An entire range of innovations concerns, if I can put it this way, a more flexible economic relationship with consumers. Henceforth our association has been given the right to use incentive additions to wholesale prices in the domestic market for output having the sign of quality. In agreement with the client we are able to confirm wholesale prices for semifinished goods and assemblies and parts enjoying demand within the sector, and for wholesale batches or samples of articles if no prices have been set for them; and, in agreement with the client, we are able to confirm additions (or rebates) on wholesale prices when substitutions are offered for sets of articles."

"In connection with the extension of rights, how is the responsibility of economic leaders and labor collectives being raised?" We asked N. Kulinich, the Ukrainian SSR minister of the food industry, to answer this question.

"The sharp reduction in the number of planning indicators confirmed for associations and enterprises is extending their rights in the shaping of the production program and making it possible to give fuller consideration to the changing circumstances of consumer demand for the range of articles, and this is particularly important at this time, when the main assessment indicator has become fulfillment of the plan for the marketing of output, taking into account delivery obligations under the terms of agreements concluded with the trade organizations.

"In this connection we consider very timely and correct the decisions of the USSR Gosplan to significantly reduce the products list for output for which the volume of production is confirmed 'from above.' One extremely important innovation is giving enterprises the right to sell output not selected by consumers using the funds allocated for the month to other trade organizations at their own discretion. Output sold under this procedure will be counted toward fulfillment of the delivery plan.

"This on the one hand considerably enhances the responsibility of the trade organizations for the timely selection of output, and on the other, provides enterprises with an opportunity to sell goods to those consumers that need them. Now, in some cases the trade organizations both fail to select output and to refuse it. But if the manufacturing enterprise sells outside a given region, punitive sanctions are applied. [no closing quotes--ed]

In connection with the limitation on the indicators confirmed "from above," in the instructions and methodology for conducting the experiments, preference is being given to the indicators characterizing increased production efficiency rather than volume expressed in rubles. Commodity output in the five-year plan is being retained as a calculation indicator. The volume of sold output will be used in annual plans to evaluate the fulfillment of contractual obligations for output delivery.

The new value indicator--normativ net output--is being used more extensively. It will serve as a base for determining labor productivity growth in five-year and annual plans and a number of normatives. In the sewn goods industry, normativ processing cost will be used for this purpose; experience gained over a number of years shows that this gives positive results. The role of the indicator for prime cost is being notably enhanced. In order to reduce production outlays an indicator for cost reduction per ruble of commodity output is being introduced.

The importance of natural indicators is being substantially increased in the planning and evaluation of the work of labor collectives. It has been proposed that special consideration be given to new equipment, output for export, and the proportion of articles of the highest category of quality in production targets for the main kinds of output. For example, in the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the five-year and annual plans contain the main tasks of scientific and technical programs to develop, assimilate and introduce new equipment and progressive technological processes.

In some ministries, new indicators that take their own specific nature into account are being introduced. Thus, in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry labor productivity growth on the basis of normativ net output will be determined taking into account the economic effect derived from the use by consumers of new, highly efficient products in the highest category of quality. In the plan for the Lithuanian Ministry of Local Industry special note is made of the volume of output made from local raw materials and waste.

Thus, the number of confirmed indicators is being significantly reduced. But to balance this the sphere of application for economic normatives whose role and significance is sharply rising, is being sharply extended. Another rule is also important now: normatives should be worked out together with the control figures and passed on to the associations and enterprises earlier, that is, before a start is made on compilation of the five-year plan. The normatives established are not subject to review. In five-year plans, for example, the following normatives should be confirmed: the normativ for growth in the wages fund for each percentage point of increase in normativ net output or commodity output (in the sewn goods industry this is growth in normativ cost of output);

the normativ for formation of the production development fund; the normativ for growth in the material incentive fund; the normativ for growth in the social and cultural and housing construction funds; the normativ for formation of the scientific and technical unified fund.

As already mentioned, many innovations are envisaged to provide incentive for high-quality and efficient labor. In particular, one of the main provisions of the Shchekino method--completion of a larger volume of work with fewer personnel--will be extensively applied. The wages fund and the material incentive fund will depend directly on final production results and production efficiency. Formation of these funds is based on five-year, progressive, stable normativs that provide for preferential labor productivity growth compared with wage increases.

Here it is apropos to note that in light of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum on accelerating improvements in the economic mechanism, the party and government have adopted a number of fundamentally important documents. Implementation of the measures outlined in these documents will, on the one hand, promote a more successful completion of the experiment, and on the other, large-scale experiments will serve as a compass in the hands of the trailblazers, helping them to set the course more correctly for those around them. Among these documents, special note should be made of the decree on accelerating scientific and technical progress and introducing its achievements in practice, and on raising responsibility for the strict observance of contractual obligations. Their practical implementation should be a subject of special attention throughout the press.

In the economic survey "The Contract," published in PRAVDA in 12 September 1983, it was shown that there are many difficulties along the road of implementing the measures outlined. Unfortunately, many of the difficulties do not depend on the producers. One frequent cause of frustration of timely fulfillment of orders is the uncoordinated operation of the partners--construction workers, suppliers, transportation workers, clients. For example, how can the Yuzhdizel'mash association fulfill orders if the Armelektromash association systematically fails to deliver the generators? For 10 years in no case have the jointly compiled schedules for their delivery, confirmed by the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, been observed.

During the course of the experiments it has been proposed that measures to strengthen the influence of contractual relations on the compilation of plans for associations and enterprises be reviewed, and that the mutual responsibility of suppliers, consumers and the organs of material-technical supply for unconditional fulfillment of contracts be raised. To this end, according to the conditions of the experiment, evaluation of the operation of production collectives and the summing up of results from socialist competition should be conducted primarily according to the volume of sold output, taking into account the products list and delivery times provided for in economic agreements.

"What will the experiment do to solve social questions and improve working and everyday conditions?" I asked N. Kulinich this question.

"First," he said, "the enterprise collectives have been given a real right and opportunity to improve technological and sanitation and everyday conditions through measures to reduce manual labor and construct rest areas, dining rooms and refreshment rooms. Second, the assets of the social and cultural fund and the housing construction fund are now being used at the discretion of the labor collective. Here, funds are being allocated mainly for the construction of housing, kindergartens, boarding schools and other projects of social designation through the efforts of the collective itself. This is a major addition to what we are now building. Again, the whole matter hangs on material backup for the construction. As provided for by the decree on the experiment, this will be done on a planned basis. [no closing quotes--ed]

Thus, under the conditions of the experiment, thanks to the independent handling of the social and cultural and housing construction funds, the collectives will allocate their assets for the construction of housing, kindergartens, creches, pioneer camps, rest areas and boarding schools. It is very important that total growth in these funds depends directly on the final results of work at the enterprises.

The new, large-scale experiment began with the new year in 1984. It deserves greater attention from all our press and other mass information media. The experiment will make it possible to test many new indicators and levers, and its results will have to be taken into account to make the necessary changes in the economic mechanism, so that, in the words of Yu.V. Andropov, "we march into the new five-year plan fully armed, as they say."

Journalists must also approach work under the new conditions fully armed. Comprehensive and deep study of the course of the experiment, thoughtful analysis of the results of specific, concrete innovations, their interconnection with other aspects of management--this offers a broad field for the activities of both the journalist investigating the economy and the journalist studying human relationships. An experiment is an experiment. It requires a creative and truly innovative approach not only to the way in which it is conducted but also to the way in which it is elucidated, the way experience is generalized, and the way its ideas and main provisions are developed. The large-scale experiments in the economy should also simultaneously become a unique school for improvements in journalistic work.

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9642

CSO: 1830/265

NATIONAL

BELIEVERS 'CANNOT BE TRUSTED' TO WORK AS ORDINARY CITIZENS DO

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 83 p 2

[Comments by A. Chertkov on letters to editors: "There Is No Third Way"]

[Text] On 23 June 1983, KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA published an article "The Price of Being Without Principles." Candidate of Philosophic Sciences A. Chertkov, a docent at the Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of Riga Polytechnic Institute, discussed the effectiveness of atheistic education of the youth in it. The article evoked a large readers' mail. We asked the author of the article to comment on these letters.

Of the numerous letters, I selected the most characteristic. In responding to them, I shall conduct a discussion on whether religion is harmful or harmless, and if it is harmful, where in particular lies its harm.

Here is what, for example, Sergey P. writes from Timashevsk: "You no doubt think that belief in God interferes with public work? No, one does not exclude the other and in no way affects it...." Here is another letter, this one without a signature, from Voroshilovgrad Oblast: "I am 21 years old. I am a Komsomol. I graduated from a mechanics tekhnikum. I am married and I have a daughter. I have a very good husband, but we often argue concerning religious matters. I can in no way understand what significant harm religion can do in our time. I am personally a nonbeliever, but I am not an atheist...."

The Komsomol emblem is a symbol of belonging to the Komsomol. The cross is an external sign of participation in the Christian religion. Being religious is incompatible with membership in the Komsomol: a Komsomol member cannot be a believer, nor can a believer be a Komsomol. This is a requirement of the Komsomol By-Laws. A Komsomol member must be an active atheist, a propagandist of atheism. What kind of an atheist is he who wears a cross on his neck?

"But we are not dealing solely with a formal requirement of the By-Laws. A Komsomol may be and must be a person who adheres to communist convictions and Marxist-Leninist ideology. This ideology is diametrically opposed to religious ideology. "Marxism is materialism," V.I. Lenin wrote. "As such, it is also relentlessly inimical to religion as the materialism of the encyclopedists of the 18th century or the materialism of Feuerbach. There can be no

question about this." For this reason a believer cannot be a Komsomol member. He can adhere to the policy of our party and state and conscientiously work of study, but because of his philosophy he is not ready to join the ranks of the Young Communist League.

As for performance of religious rites by Komsomol members, this too is intolerable. It is true that not all of our readers understand this. "It seems to me that young people who turn to the Church are not that bad. They go for beauty in the church, as all church rites and church singing are beautiful," S. Gribova writes from Mezhdurechensk.

One cannot agree with this. I must point out that religious rites are in reality not as beautiful as some people tend to think: here you find a lot of exaggeration and idealization of church ceremony. Another thing is even more important. Participation in religious rites--even where it is passive and without any understanding of their meaning, without belief in their "power"--attests at the very least to a compromising, tolerant attitude toward religion and often to a certain sympathy toward it. And a person with a tolerant attitude toward religion, especially where he sympathizes with it and materially supports it (rites are not performed without pay), cannot be a Komsomol.

Irreconcilability toward religion does not at all mean that we have to hate believers or persecute them. We do not have the right to insult the religious feelings of believers or in any way interfere with them. We are concerned with something else. A Komsomol must himself be a confirmed atheist and must be able to stand up for his views.

So, what is the harm of religion? This question is far from simple. Its difficulty lies in the fact that we have become accustomed to look for the visible and perceptible harm of any phenomenon and do not always want to look at it more deeply. If as the result of performing a religious rite someone gets sick, if on days of religious holidays some believers do not go to work, and this hurts the national economy, if followers of fanatical sects mutilate themselves and others, then here we unanimously agree--religion does harm. But if a person performs a religious rite and nothing happens to him and if the great majority of believers work on religious holidays and sect members are only a handful, some people tend to think that religion is harmless. But this is far from being so.

Religion is an ideology, a system of views about surrounding reality. Ideology always influences the life and behavior of people. Thus, if atheists are convinced that the world is material, that no supernatural beings or phenomena exist, that all phenomena have natural causes, that there is no life after death or immortality of the soul and the like, then these convictions influence their behavior.

Believers see themselves differently. If something in their life does not suit them, they try to change the state of affairs not so much by their own efforts and natural means but rather by hope for "help from God" and prayers.

What is it that creates in some people the illusion that religion is harmless?

One of the factors of such a deceptive notion is observation of the life of specific believing people. At first glance this life differs little from the life of nonbelieving people. Contemporary believers for the most part work, have a family, their children study. In a word, their way of life, if one does not really look into it, is not especially different from the way of life of those who are far from religion.

But let us not delude ourselves. If we examine things closely and attentively, we would be able to note that in some decisive life situations, believers will conduct themselves by no means like nonbelieving people. When working in production they will try not to take part in competitions, will never come out with any kind of initiative and are not interested in the achievements of their collective. In a word, quite often certain believers behave contrary to the requirements of religion. This occurs because consciously or unconsciously a considerable number of religious people understands that the demands of religion are not realistic and are harmful.

Here is what Svetlana Kantsur writes from Sverdlovsk: "I have not sincerely believed in God, but I have not denied His existence.... And only a few days ago, on speaking with real believers, quite young men, I suddenly understood what tremendous danger exists in religion, what tremendous harm religion inflicts on young people stuck in the morass of religion. And whereas I formerly thought that atheistic education was a waste of time, for after all each one finds his own way, now I am deeply convinced otherwise. It is necessary to constantly and convincingly conduct atheistic propaganda."

There are many such letters in the editors' mail, and they again convincingly prove that the harm of religion is obvious and that there is no room for reconciliation with it in the position of each Komsomol.

7697

CSO: 1830/284

REGIONAL

AZERI MINISTER OF JUSTICE ON PROTECTING STATE PROPERTY

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by N. Yusifov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of justice under the rubric "Lawyer's Tribune": "Each Person Must Protect People's Property"]

[Text] Speaking at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov emphasized that "normal progress of our social development is unthinkable without strict observance of laws which protect the interests of society and the rights of man. In particular it is necessary to put an end to such phenomena as cases of using state and public property and service positions for personal enrichment. After all, when considered carefully, this is nothing but the undermining of the very essence of our system. Here the law must be uncompromising and its application inevitable."

In fulfilling tasks set before them, our republic's judicial organs concentrate even more on the struggle against thieves of people's property and are severely punishing people who offend against socialist property.

Nonetheless it is impossible through punishment alone to eliminate the evil that is hurting our economy and the well-being of the Soviet people. Preventative measures to forestall it, to create an atmosphere of intolerance on the part of the Soviet people toward cases of theft, and to eliminate the causes and conditions which make it possible are of decisive significance.

Taking this into account, judges have begun, more frequently and more thoroughly, to prepare special orders which are sent to managers of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and to monitor performance of recommendations.

The judges are giving more attention to questions of enhancing the indoctrinational impact of judicial processes. A number of cases which have drawn increased public interest are being heard by judges at traveling sessions held at enterprises, construction sites, institutions, and clubs with involvement of representatives of the public and publication of results in the press.

The quality of legal work in the national economy, increased feeling of responsibility by managers of enterprises, organizations, and institutions for protecting material valuables, and sound selection of personnel for positions involving protecting socialist property are also undoubtedly

important in the struggle against theft. This especially concerns the field of agriculture, where theft of agricultural products is still substantial (sometimes under the guise of write-offs of production losses). For example, in 1982 shortfalls were discovered in the Astarinskiy RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association]: 46,000 rubles at the Sovkhoz imeni XXIII Parts'yezda and 61,000 rubles at the Kommunist Sovkhoz. The write-off was done without identifying the ones actually responsible for the shortfall.

Meanwhile, according to the existing statute, a shortfall of valuables above the norm of profits and losses from spoilage of valuables in cases when actual responsible persons are not determined may be written off the total for only up to 500 rubles, and then only with the permission of all-Union and republic industrial associations, main administrations, and other organs of economic administration directly subordinate to ministries and departments. But since similar violations are frequently permitted, study of legislation regulating the system of receiving and distributing material valuables must be organized at every enterprise, organization, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz, and there must be more intensive monitoring of materially accountable officials.

Labor collectives must play a large part in this. Point Eight of the "Law on Labor Collectives and Increasing Their Role in Management of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations," adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, envisioned that labor collectives would "implement measures to insure protection and augmentation of socialist property, continue the struggle against poor management and a careless attitude toward public property, and prevent misappropriation of state and public property."

In relation to this it must be said that the law adopted helped increase worker activism in the struggle against infringements on people's property. Nonetheless, the amount of petty theft which occurs quite often in the food, meat and dairy, fruit and vegetable, and light industries is still too great.

Unfortunately, petty theft is not always properly evaluated. Some managers deal leniently with petty thieves or, as they are commonly called, "nesun's" [people who carry things off], mistakenly supposing that "it is not worth making a fuss about such a small thing." This is a profound error, for the harm "nesun's" do to the national economy is by no means small. On the contrary, an atmosphere of intolerance must be created around them and every case of theft must be viewed, with the help of public opinion, as extraordinary.

But not only petty thievery is being committed. Existing information confirms that criminal groups of thieves have been operating at certain enterprises and have taken significant material valuables.

One of the factors that promotes theft is unsatisfactory bookkeeping and reporting, poor departmental monitoring and inspection work, lack of proper monitoring of the work of materially accountable officials, ill-timed and sometimes poor performance of inspections and inventories, and in a number of cases -- direct participation by employees of the subdivision in the theft. Many departmental controllers work in a formalistic way and fail to disclose thefts and abuses promptly, which makes it possible for the criminals to pilfer people's property without punishment for a long time.

Thus, while working as superintendent of the warehouse of construction section No 11 in the city of Salyany, N. Babayev stole scarce construction materials and sold them to outsiders for two years. During this time he stole 9,881 rubles worth of material valuables. As a result of lack of monitoring on the part of N. Tagi-zade, chief of the construction section, and M. Kuliyeu, chief accountant, not one inspection or inventory was performed at the warehouse. The People's Court of the Salyanskiy Rayon punished N. Babayev severely. At the same time the People's Court delivered a special order regarding the chief of the section and chief accountant.

Belated reaction on the part of managers to shortages and all kinds of abuses and cases of theft which are discovered should be especially singled out. Among the conditions which create favorable opportunities for thefts.

A. Agayev was sentenced to a long term in prison for grand theft by the People's Court of the Rayon imeni 26 Bakinskikh Komissarov in the City of Baku. While working as director of studio No 38 at Tailoring and Clothing Repair Factory No 1, he abused his service position and committed theft since as far back as November 1981. The management of the factory repeatedly received signals of the bad state of affairs at this studio and of the improper actions of the director himself. Nonetheless, the administration took no measures against Agayev. Receiving no punishment, he continued to steal.

Frequently one comes across violations of party and state principles for selecting and placing personnel in materially responsible positions. Occasionally unscrupulous people who have earlier been tried for mercenary crimes gain access to these positions! Suffice it to note that in 1982 and in the first six months of 1983, every tenth person convicted of theft and every seventh person convicted of grand theft turned out to have a record of mercenary crimes.

For example, a certain V. Muradov, who had earlier been convicted of theft of state property, was appointed to the position of director of the agricultural store at the Bardinskiy Rayon Council of Consumer Cooperatives. While he was working in this position, he stole material-commodity valuables, cheated the customers, and allowed goods to spoil.

Such cases indicate that it is necessary to check closely on people appointed to materially responsible positions. The administration must be held strictly accountable if this is not done.

Protection of freight being hauled by rail is still not going well for us. Frequently valuable freight "disappears" at stations and on the road, as for example happened with a wagon of steel plating shipped by the Cherepovets Metallurgic Plant to Glavkolkhozsovkhozstroy [Main Administration for Construction in Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes].

In just the last few years the number of claims for loss of freight presented to the Azerbaijan Railroad has risen significantly. In most cases the defendant acknowledged them to be well-founded.

The decisions of the November 1982 and June 1983 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and of plenums of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee posed the challenge of setting up a strict system of accounting and protecting material valuables and eradicating cases of poor management. These documents oblige inspections, inventory, and checks to be carried out more strictly and more systematically at construction sites where material valuables are concentrated; to thoroughly analyze their results; and every year to conduct monthly checks of the preservation of public property in accordance with local Councils of People's Deputies. And in carrying out these measures it is necessary to widely recruit people's controllers and members of councils for preventive measures to insure protection of socialist property, and to examine results of monthly checks at meetings of performance committees and at ministry and departmental collegiums.

Carrying out these measures is also necessary because in practice we come across cases when primary departmental inspections and inventory are performed superficially, in a non-comprehensive way, and frequently do not disclose cases of theft and squandering.

The measures being taken to reimburse the state for losses caused are still not sufficiently effective. The total volume of indebtedness for shortages, spoilage, and thefts throughout the republic has not decreased. This problem is worse in the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the Ministry of Food Industry, the Ministry of Trade, the State Committee for Viticulture and Wine-Making, the ministry of Domestic Services, and in several other departments.

In the majority of cases, managers are content to simply send documents on the damage done and shortages to investigative organs and do not take appropriate measures for eradicating them altogether. At times the system of determining the extent of actual damage is violated. On this plane there are serious shortcomings and omissions in the activities of employees of judicial services which are supposed to set up reliable barriers against theft, false reports, and deceptive practices. At times the role of legal services is also underestimated by economic managers.

On the other hand, preliminary investigation organs are not sufficiently effective. There are cases of belated inventory of the property of people who are guilty of theft; criminals and their relatives take advantage of this and hide the property.

For example, T. Akhundov, an investigator of the investigative department of the Narimanovskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs listed the property four months after the opening of the case of Saakyan and Miryakh'ya who stole state property in an especially large amount; Kh. Aliyeva, investigator for the investigation department of the Administration of Internal Affairs of the Baku Gorispolkom listed the property 17 months later in the Agabekyana case and in others where thefts in especially large quantities had also been committed and I. Dalakyan, investigator for the procurators office of Nasiminskiy Rayon listed it seven months later in the Kasimova case. Obviously, these actions did not have the desired results.

There is only one conclusion which can be drawn from everything which has been said: only by mobilizing common efforts will we be able to achieve positive results in the struggle against crime on the whole, and increase and protect people's property in particular.

12,424

CSO: 1830/287

REGIONAL

MUTALIBOV INTERVIEW ON INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Jan 84 p 1

[Interview with Azerbaijan Gosplan Chairman A. N. Mutalibov by A. Lerner: "Republic Construction"; date and place not specified]

[Text] At the request of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, A. N. Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and Gosplan chairman, comments on the most important projects of 1984.

[Answer] Anticipating your probable question, let me say at the outset that the small number of vital projects on the map is only apparent. Nevertheless, the reduction in the number of new projects is a trend. It is a reasonable trend, dictated by the party's directives. Its aim is to increase the effectiveness of present production through modernization, remodeling, and retooling. It is quite obvious that the payback from such capital investments (on the assets side of fixed capital) will be much greater than from the construction of new enterprises with new facilities and the appropriate utility lines.

In addition, this trend makes it possible to reduce volumes of uncompleted construction. It is no secret, after all, that failure to meet construction deadlines (with consequent carryover) in conjunction with new construction starts lead in the long run to an increase in that volume.... In short, it is not by chance that more than 70 percent of the total capital investment is being channeled into expanded work on technical retooling of the republic's enterprises. Hence the seeming reduction in the number of projects that I mentioned.

[Question] Yet the volume of capital investment increased over last year....

[Answer] That's the point. It grew by almost 6 percent, and the volume of construction-installation work rose by 4.7 percent. Fifteen percent more fixed capital must be put into operation. You can see for yourself how fast our scale of production is growing!

[Question] But, undoubtedly, considerable new construction is planned?

[Answer] Certainly. In the current year, as we know from materials of the recent Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum, particular stress is being

placed on the balanced development of all sectors of our national economy. Special attention will be focused on the fuel-energy complex. The fourth power block of the Azerbaijan GRES [state regional power plant] will go into operation, also a plant manufacturing support components for permanent deep-water footings; this will make it possible to substantially expand the area of off-shore drilling of petroleum and gas wells in the Caspian and, in the long run, to increase the production of these valuable types of raw material and fuel.

As for remodeling, there are those who think that this is rather insignificant and trivial. Yet the additional capacity which will go into operation in the Azerelektroterm Plant, for example, will make it possible to turn out products worth 21 million rubles; in the case of the Baku Machine-Building Plant imeni Lieutenant Schmidt, 7.5 million rubles; and in the Azerelektrosvet Production Association, 3 million fluorescent lamps. Not so "trivial" or "insignificant!"

[Question] Evidently, Ayaz Niyazovich, the Food Program and the tasks it affords will occupy a prominent place.

[Answer] This matter is the object of special attention of the republic's party organization. Large and vital tasks are involved. We need to complete the construction of Novo-Bakinskiy Poultry Plant No 1, which will produce 6 million meat chickens per year. Also to be continued is the construction of a large poultry plant in Siazan, and a livestock complex to produce milk will go into operation in Apsheronkiy Rayon.

The development of agricultural production, as you know, is closely interlinked with strengthening of the feed base, the introduction of chemicalization and mechanization on a large scale. Hence the plan's stipulation of the inauguration of new capacity in the milling combines and inter-kolkhoz enterprises producing mixed feeds in Agdamkiy and Ismailinskiy rayons. This measure, along with large-scale irrigation and reclamation projects, will certainly have a positive impact on supplying the republic's livestock sector with feeds, thus enabling us to increase meat and milk production.

Year after year we are increasing the production not only of grapes but also vegetables and fruit. Under these circumstances, of course, special urgency attaches to the problem of storing and processing the crops. To solve this problem (if only partially so far), plans call for putting into production eight plants engaged in primary grape processing in the Nakhichevan ASSR, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and Kazakhkiy, Kubatlikiy, Kutkashenskiy, and Vartashenskiy rayons. Vegetable storage facilities will be built in Kedabekkiy and Shemakhinskiy Rayons, and fruit storage facilities will be built in Ilichevskiy and Tauzskiy rayons. This is in addition to the large number of such plants built in recent years.

[Question] Everything you have mentioned, it would seem, relates to the sphere of production. Materials of the recent Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum and the Eighth Session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet attest to further changes being mapped out with regard to improving people's well-being, in particular the construction of social-consumer and cultural projects.

[Answer] Our whole works program, all our plans, to some extent relate to the tasks of further improving the Soviet people's well-being. Most vitally involved, of course, are those sectors working directly for people, organizations building housing, schools, kindergartens, hospitals, waterlines.... Priority attention will be focused on these.

One of the most urgent tasks this year is to supply the market sufficiently with essential industrial goods. To do this we will introduce new processes in the production of essential goods on improved modern production lines and machines, and many shops in enterprises of the light, local and food industry will be re-outfitted.

As is well-known, this year we plan to put into operation housing (from all sources of financing) approximating 2 million square meters. Also to go into operation are schools accommodating 24,300 pupils, kindergartens accommodating 5,500, and hospitals totaling 920 beds.

Much has been done in the republic to improve the water supply, especially in Baku. Scheduled to become operational this year is Kura Water Pipeline No 2, group pipelines in the Nakhichevan ASSR, and in Lenkoran, Taz, Shamkhor, Kazakh, Ismailly, Kutkashen, and other regions of Azerbaijan.

[Question] Pretty complex. To get them done it is necessary to further develop the production base of the construction organizations....

[Answer] To accomplish this plans call for putting capacity into production in Residential Construction Combine No 2 in Baku, also a facing slab plant in Nakhichevan, and construction materials combines in Dallyar and Stepanakert. Those are the major ones, so to speak. Considerable work is to be done in the remodeling and retooling of facilities in many other enterprises of the construction industry....

[Question] But this is not the only factor in resolving the task of substantially increasing the volume of construction work, is it?

[Answer] Of course not. The answer to this question is contained in Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech. "The key to success here, as everywhere else," Yuriy Vladimirovich emphasized, "is in raising the responsibility of cadres, in imposing high demands on them for meticulous execution of their duties, accuracy and initiative, and unconditional completion of the tasks facing us. It is from this angle that we must assess the performance of our construction ministries and their officials, territorial organs, and the work of managers."

In conclusion I should like to express confidence that the many thousands of our republic's builders, guided by the decisions of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov's speech there, the plenums of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, will bend every effort to deal successfully not only with the year's intensive program and the operational startup of all facilities and projects but also with the high socialist obligations they adopted the other day.

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN CP BURO DISCUSSES LABOR RESOURCES

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 Jan 84 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Buro of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The regular meeting of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro discussed the question of the course of development of the goal-directed integrated program "Demographic Development and Rational Utilization of the Labor Resources of the Azerbaijan SSR for the Period Through 1990."

The decree that was adopted notes that Gosplan, the State Committee for Labor, and the Central Statistical Administration have done a certain amount of work on the development of this program. They have prepared methodology materials and set up local commissions for the integrated study of the problem of utilization of labor resources. The first stage has been completed on a partial survey of rayons and cities characterized by a high percentage of labor resources not engaged in social production.

At the same time, ministries, departments, enterprises, and certain party and soviet organs have not done enough along these lines. Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Labor, the Central Statistical Administration, and the appropriate ministries and departments are advised to step up efforts to complete the development of the goal-directed integrated program to ensure that it becomes a component part of the republic's economic and social development plan for 1985 and for the 12th Five-Year Plan. They should include in it further improvement of the deployment of productive forces, the development of small and medium-sized cities, the building of branch shops of large industrial enterprises in rural rayons, facilities for the processing of agricultural materials and local resources, and the broad utilization of forms of labor in the home.

It is necessary to take fuller account of characteristics of the demographic situation in drawing up plans of economic and social development, to map out ways of rational utilization of labor resources. It is necessary to render aid to planning and statistical organs and scientific establishments in compiling planned and reported balances of labor resources and in carrying out a selective social-demographic survey of the population.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms must undertake measures to improve the activities and enhance the role of the local soviets in developing the economy of rayons and cities, especially by putting local sources of raw materials into production.

The Central Committee Buro approved the work experience of party organizations and pedagogical collectives of the public schools of Yevlakhskiy Rayon with respect to labor training and vocational guidance of the pupils.

It was noted that all schools in the rayon have organized special-purpose classrooms, vocational guidance centers, training workshops, and laboratories. At present more than 3,000 pupils in the 7th through 10th grades are working in 36 pupil production brigades; they have assigned to them more than 800 hectares of land planted in various crops. As a result of purposeful, directed work in labor training and vocational guidance of the pupils, most school graduates are getting necessary training and, on completion of schooling, are joining the labor collectives of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

The decree that was adopted advised obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, the Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee, the Ministry of Education, and other ministries and departments to study the work experience of the party organizations and pedagogical collectives of the public schools of Yevlakhskiy Rayon and undertake measures to disseminate it broadly. On the basis of this experience the Ministry of Education should work out procedures for organizing labor training and vocational guidance for pupils and prepare the appropriate recommendations.

The Central Committee Buro also examined a number of other matters concerning the social and political life of the republic.

6854

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REGIONAL

GEORGIAN CP CC BURO MEETINGS DETAILED

Buro Discusses Party Conference

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Dec 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a regular session the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has discussed the question of the work of the party organization at the Madneulskiy mining and enriching combine to increase the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the workers and concentrate their efforts on achieving better final results in the production-economic and sociocultural development of the collective. Having approved work done in this direction, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro recommended that the party committee and management of the combine give special attention to the need for extensive introduction of the brigade form of labor organization and incentive and transforming the combine into a model and exemplary enterprise with high efficiency and production standards. A decree adopted on this question will be published in the press.

A decree has been adopted on efficiency in the use of available reserves for increasing production of meat and eggs at Gruzptitseprom enterprises and improving their quality.

The Georgian Communist Central Committee Buro has heard information from the director of the Ingursk cellulose and paper combine comrade O.A. Patsatsiy on work to save material and fuel and energy resources. It was noted that this year the collective at the enterprise has achieved considerable savings of fiber semifinished goods and thermal and electric power. At the same time the targets for saving individual kinds of materials and semifinished goods and fuel have not been met. The management, party committee, and trade union and Komsomol organizations at the combine have been assigned the task of taking the necessary steps to improve work in the matter of saving raw material, material and fuel and energy resources and making rational use of them.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has adopted a decision on the results of economic-financial activities of agricultural enterprises in 1983 and the conducting of accountability and accountability-and-election meetings at kolkhozes and in interfarm enterprises and organizations in the republic.

Having heard information from the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Section on the course of oblast, city and rayon accountability-and-election party conferences, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has noted that the conferences are taking place at a high organizational and ideological level in a businesslike way and in the spirit of party principledness, under the sign of comprehensive analysis of work to fulfill the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Georgian Communist Party Congress and the decisions of subsequent CPSU Central Committee and Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenums. Special emphasis was laid on eliminating existing shortcomings and bringing into play the untapped reserves at each enterprise, construction site, kolkhoz and sovkhoz. A detailed discussion of questions concerning improvements in the style and methods of work by the party organizations took place.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has heard reports from the secretaries of the party committees at the Georgian Polytechnical Institute imeni V.I. Lenin, comrade L.I. Okurashvili, and the Kutaisi Polytechnical Institute imeni N.I. Muskhelishvili, comrade O.G. Vashakidze, and the secretary of the party buro at the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Mechanics of Machines, comrade V.I. Kordzadze, on work to implement the decisions of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 6th Plenum. Having approved the work done to raise the level and efficiency of scientific research and accelerate the introduction of the results obtained into the national economy, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat drew attention to the need to draw up long-term programs to develop the experimental bases of the scientific research institutes and strengthen the material-technical base of the higher school, and to questions of material and moral incentive for VUZ scientists and students for participation in solving urgent national economic problems, and activating propaganda work conducted in the republic to fulfill the decisions of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 6th Plenum.

Measures to improve the work of the Gruzugol' production association have been discussed at a meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat.

Other matters of the republic's national economic and sociopolitical life have been discussed at meetings of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and Secretariat.

Shortcomings in Research Institute

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Jan 84 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a regular meeting the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has adopted a decree on the results of the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum and the tasks of the Georgian Communist Party stemming from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the instructions and conclusions contained in the speech of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium comrade Yu.V. Andropov.

Materials from the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the tasks stemming from it will be discussed at plenums or meetings of the party aktiv in the Georgian Communist Party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and at meetings of primary party organizations and labor collectives in the republic. Practical measures will be outlined to insure the extensive spread of the movement to overfulfill planned labor productivity improvements in 1984 by 1 percent and reduce output prime costs by 0.5 percent initiated in response to the appeal of comrade Yu.V. Andropov by the leading collectives of Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Tskhinvali, Kutaisi, Poti and Zugdidi. It is recommended that study be organized of the text of comrade Yu.V. Andropov's speech and the documents of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet within the system of party and Komsomol training, economic education, and mass forms of propaganda, and also at schools, vocational and technical schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has approved in the main the drafts put forward by the republic council of ministers for the 1984 state plan for the economic and social development of the Georgian SSR and the 1984 state budget for the Georgian SSR, and recommended that they be introduced for consideration by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 15th Plenum.

A decision has been adopted to construct in Tsukulidze city a plant for the production of technological equipment and special technological equipment for the production of consumer goods at enterprises within the system of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Local Industry.

Results have been summed up from republic socialist competition for fodder procurement in 1983. A Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian republic trade union council and Georgian Komsomol Central Committee decree adopted on this question will be published in the press.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has discussed the question of serious shortcomings in the activities of the Mion scientific research institute with plant. Member of the CPSU, director of the Mion scientific research institute with plant, comrade R.I. Chikovani, has been severely reprimanded with endorsement of accountability record. The attention of the party committee was drawn to the lack of principle and the reconciliatory attitude toward violations of labor, establishment-financial and technological discipline and the nonfulfillment of their official duties by communist managers.

Specific measures were outlined to stabilize the work of the enterprise, strengthen discipline and enhance the personal responsibility of leading workers.

Other matters concerning the economic and sociopolitical life of the republic have been discussed at the meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro.

Tbilisi Party Work Examined

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 26 Jan 84 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a regular meeting the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has considered the question of the course of preparations for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation.

In a decree adopted, party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms were assigned the task of insuring during the period of the election campaign the creation of an atmosphere of further enhancement of the labor and political activeness of the masses, the development of socialist democracy and the extension of worker participation in the management of state and public affairs. All work in preparing for and holding the elections should be carried out taking into consideration the demands of the CPSU Central Committee December (1983) Plenum and the tasks contained in comrade Yu.V. Andropov's plenum speech, and under the sign of mobilizing the labor collectives for unconditional fulfillment of the additional party target of increasing labor productivity 1 percent above the plan and reducing output prime costs by 0.5 percent. Preparations for the elections should be closely linked with the resolution of specific tasks in economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development and with an all-around strengthening of discipline and order and the growth of the creative initiative of the masses in light of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee in Improving the System of Management, Raising the Level of Economic Work and the Rational Utilization of Resources."

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro has heard information from the first secretary of the Tbilisi party gorkom comrade G.D. Gabuniya on the first steps taken by the gorkom to carry out the decisions of the 39th Tbilisi City Party Conference. Specific measures and implementation times have been determined for the demands made at the conference, and a plan for political and organizational measures has been drawn up for the main directions in the activity of the city party organization. Industry in Tbilisi has made a confident start to the fourth year of the five-year plan. The results of the first two 10-day periods of January are inspiring confidence that the plan targets for the month will be overfulfilled. Special attention is being given to questions of further developing the economic experiment being conducted in the republic capital, radically improving the work of all municipal services, strengthening state discipline and intensifying the struggle against negative phenomena. Having noted the galvanized activity of the Tbilisi city party organizations, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro recommended that the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms develop a similar system of specific measures to the maximum to implement the decisions of party conferences, and that they establish strict control over the implementation of these measures.

Certain questions connected with the strengthening of socialist discipline within the system of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Consumer Services and in individual rayons in the republic have been examined at a buro meeting.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has considered the question of the status of organic fertilizers for the citrus-growing rayons of the republic. The work of the republic Gruzsel'khozkhimiya production-scientific association and its services in this direction was considered inadequate and not fully meeting the demands of the republic's direktiv organs. In a decree adopted on this matter specific measures were outlined for improving the situation in this matter.

A number of other matters connected with the economic and sociopolitical life of the republic have been discussed at meetings of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro and Secretariat.

9642

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REGIONAL

VAYNO ON FULFILLING STATE PLAN, PRODUCTION AND S&T POTENTIAL

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 18, Sep 83 pp 30-35

[Article by K. Vayno, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP: "Battling Steadfastly to Fulfill the State Plan"]

[Text] The first half of the 11th Five-Year Plan has come to an end, and we have begun fulfilling the more intensive and difficult tasks of its second half. In all branches of the national economy in our republic there is increasing attention being directed at work to improve all spheres of economic management--administration, planning and the economic mechanism. Tasks related to the development of economic and organizational conditions which will stimulate quality and productive labor, initiative and enterprise are being dealt with with great responsibility, and this has been especially true since the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. On the other hand, poor work, inactivity and irresponsibility must be directly and irrevocably related to material rewards, job status and the moral authority of workers. Our party's course to raise party, state and labor discipline has been fervently supported by the republic's workers.

Broad developmental horizons were opened up to us by the decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and by the speech given there by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov. The evaluation of these important documents at the plenary session of the Estonian CP Central Committee and in local party organizations has become a new creative stimulus for communists and all workers in the republic.

All of this taken together has a positive effect on production matters. The plan for the first 6 months for the sale of industrial products has been fulfilled by 102.3 percent. In comparison with the corresponding period last year the volume of industrial production has increased by 4.9 percent. All production growth has been achieved only by means of a growth in labor productivity with a slight decrease in the number of industrial-production workers. Also overfulfilled are the plans for the first 6 months related to the procurement of basic livestock products such as meat, milk and eggs.

It is important to provide a stable feature to this developing tendency to improve basic economic indicators. First of all we must organize that which we have and to secure a more efficient utilization of the production and

scientific-technical potential of the republic. Securing the well-organized and uninterrupted operation of the entire economic mechanism--this is an integral factor in the general process to improve our social structure.

In order to deal with our goals successfully, we are trying to concentrate our efforts on the basic directions, to approach the ripe problems creatively and to evaluate work in all sections and links from party and national positions. In other words, we are training people in responsibility for the common task and we are forming a new type of economic thinking in our cadres.

In the republic there are many politically-mature directors who are implementing the party's directives in a business-like manner. I can name V. Udam, the first secretary of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon party committee, E. Liyeberg, the chairman of the 9 Maya Kolkhoz of Paydeskiy Rayon, O. Klushin, the general director of the Krengol'mskaya Manufaktura Cotton-Paper Combine and T. Uffert, director of the Electrotechnical Plant imeni Kh. Pegel'man. These are competent people who know how to keep their word, who exhibit socialist enterprise and who have organizational capabilities and a sharpened sense for the innovative.

The circumstances that allow us to work innovatively and with a full delivery of force are being created by the practice of working with cadres that has developed in the republic. It is characterized by a trust and respect of people coordinated with a principled demandingness for the results of activities. Party organizations help cadres to overcome the forces of inertia, tradition and custom that developed at a time when quantity and not so much quality was of priority.

We recognize that this goal is not as simple as it may seem at first. It is connected with many reevaluations, with the development of new forms of production and labor organization, with an improvement in planning and with the elimination of departmentalism and regionalism. When "mine" and "ours" of some directors is contradictory to national interests it sometimes happens that the enterprises do not fulfill "alien" orders and instead of fulfilling contractual obligations and cooperative directives they produce goods for "their own" branch or region. It sometimes happens that the product is physically and morally antiquated, but the enterprise continues to produce it.

In order to bring strict order and discipline to observing contractual agreements related to the supply of products, which is one of the decisive conditions for the successful implementation of the party's course toward intensive economic development and increased economic effectiveness, the republic's party committees are taking measures directed at strengthening supply discipline. In particular, each instance of non-fulfillment of contractual obligations or of expression of departmentalism or regionalism is looked upon by us as a gross violation of state and plan discipline with all the consequences arising from this.

The fulfillment of plan goals with regard to orders and deliveries to consumers regardless of departmental allegiance on schedule and with the

proper quality has today become the main criteria for evaluating the results of the economic operations of associations and enterprises. The system of bonuses and the organization of funds for material incentives for production collectives are being more and more closely linked with the fulfillment of contractual obligations. In addition to the unconditional subordination to national interests, such measures train the director in economic obligations, organization and in working with a maximum degree of energy. Recently the cases in which Estonian enterprises have not been able to fulfill the orders of consumers have become rarer and rarer.

Still we come across directors who do not strive to maximally utilize existing reserves and who try to find various excuses to justify the non-fulfillment of obligations. In order to create the appearance of well-being they sometimes turn to attachments, misrepresentation and violations of state discipline. This happens most frequently in places where local party organizations tolerate passivity in the struggle against such factors and limit themselves to confirming the existing situation and to general calls to duty and conscience on the part of directors instead of creating a strict system of controls over the observation of party and state discipline with personal responsibility for this. And only after the intervention of higher party organs are the necessary measures taken.

For example, in its time the Machine Building Plant imeni I. Lauristino systematically did not fulfill its quotas for deliveries according to agreements and orders. Because of this consumers in other republics did not receive equipment for the oil and chemical industry on schedule. The communists in the enterprise should have thoroughly familiarized themselves with the situation and should have brought their directors to order, but they were "reluctant" to do this. The interference of the Kalininskiy Rayon party committee was required. Improvements were made in the local party organization of the plant. Workers of the rayon committee helped to increase the role of the elected aktiv, to raise the level of party meetings and to improve controls over administrative activities. Now the real tasks are not replaced by talking here, and strict demands are made of cadres with regard to the assigned work. As a result today the collective is working with stability and dealing with quotas successfully; undersupplying consumers with equipment has been fully eliminated.

At the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was noted that in the economic sphere the key goal was a cardinal improvement in labor productivity. One of the most important paths toward qualitative changes in production forces is the unification of the advantages of our socialist structure with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

In recent years in the republic there has been a growth in the scale of use of scientific-technical achievements within the national economy. Since the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan alone thousands of new types of industrial products have been developed and mass produced; at the same time hundreds of units of equipment have been modernized and many antiquated types of goods have been removed from production.

According to approximate calculations, scientific-technical progress provides the republic with three-fourths of its growth in labor productivity. However, we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. Great losses to technical progress are sometimes incurred by those same departmental and regional tendencies, as a result of which scientific and technical achievements are put into practice slowly.

A savings of millions of rubles is provided, for example, by the automatic gas dispenser planned for water-purification stations and for the chemical and other branches of industry. This is an innovation proposed by inventor I. Sutto, director of the Tallinn Water-Purification Station. The device, which is being used successfully in Tallinn, has not found widespread use, however.

The dividing line in the introduction of the new often touches on extensive inter-branch problems. The directions of scientific-technical progress on which a branch depends are supported by a particular ministry but those of an inter-branch nature remain up in the air. As a result a significant number of innovations are not utilized in any way.

If we really want to move forward in the area of introducing scientific-technical progress and new work methods we must first eliminate specific difficulties that hinder scientific-technical progress and then work out a system of organization, economic and moral measures that would interest directors, workers, scientists and designers in renewing technology and that would make working with old technology disadvantageous. The role of party committees, always called upon to guard national interests, is great here. We must bravely break departmental barriers when it comes to introducing scientific-technical achievements and improve the mechanism of introduction itself more quickly.

To a large degree this is facilitated by the development of goal-oriented comprehensive programs which secure a harmonious unity of territorial and branch planning and which promote the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the transition of the republic's economy to an intensive path of development. Currently we have developed comprehensive programs such as, "The Development of Inter-Branch Production of Goods for General Machine-Building Use or Metal-Processing," "The Efficient Utilization of Wood and Wastes from Wood-Processing," "Increasing Labor Productivity in Industry and Building," "The Development and Optimization of Distribution of Storage Facilities in the Republic," and others.

All of these programs have been examined by the central committee of the republic's CP and their implementation is periodically checked. If problems occur with the fulfillment of a particular program based on departmental interests we work for coordinated operations among sub-contractors and we increase their responsibility for general success.

Thus, the purposeful comprehensive program directed at improving labor productivity in industry and building during the 11th Five-Year Plan foresees a corresponding growth in labor productivity of 16 and 13 percent. Moreover,

in industry over half of the planned growth in labor productivity will be achieved by means of increasing the technical level of production, including by introducing new technological processes and more efficient machines and equipment and by mechanizing manual labor. Thus, in 6 months of the current year the number of workers in industry decreased while the productivity of labor increased by almost 5 percent. At the same time six enterprises in the republic did not fulfill the plan for growth in labor productivity. As an analysis showed, the reason for this was the non-fulfillment of a plan to introduce new technology and to mechanize and automate production. Some directors have become accustomed to the fact that there are strict consequences for not fulfilling quotas, but for the sluggish introduction of new technology there will be only a rebuke. This is why they sought out and eliminated specific difficulties that interfered with scientific-technical progress poorly. It was necessary to correct the comrades and to help the party organizations of which they were members to strengthen their demandingness as regards the introduction of innovations and a fuller utilization of internal reserves.

Extensive work is being done in the republic to eliminate departmentalism. Production intensification here has intensified the process of division of labor. However, the creation of a network of enterprises and organizations for the repair and servicing of technology, chemicalization, building and processing of production complicated inter-branch ties and resulted in an increase in expenditures to support the administrative apparatus. Most importantly, narrow departmental interests arose that sometimes were far from focusing on specific results.

Soberly evaluating these undesirable changes, we moved toward creating rayon agro-industrial associations 8 years ago as an experiment. The new administrative organs enabled us to simplify the management of agriculture and related branches, to take a big step forward in eliminating departmental uncoordination and to more fully and efficiently coordinate the operations of enterprises and organizations of various ministries and departments belonging to the agro-industrial complex. Now most problems related to the economic activities of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises that process agricultural products and of enterprises providing services are usually dealt with directly in the rayon soviets of the RAPO [Rayon agro-industrial association].

At the same time we understand well that in agriculture a great deal remains to be done to eliminate departmentalism. Whereas on the rayon level the RAPO helped to unify the interests of all members, branch ministries and departments in the republic frequently hindered the process of integration. Their cost-accounting enterprises locally were concerned primarily with their own profits. The republic's agricultural ministry, which was assigned the administration of the RAPO, also did not have the power to implement the coordinated operation of all branches in the agro-industrial complex.

The search for new ways to manage the agricultural complex on a republic level resulted in the development of a single administrative organ on the scale of the republic which combines territorial, branch and program-goal oriented principles of planning and management. We are speaking of the republic

agro-industrial association (Estonian.. SSR Agroprom), which is now taking its first steps. It has unified the functions of the agricultural ministry and the state committees on production-technical supplies for agriculture and on reclamation and water resources. In other words, the authority of the association extends to the entire sphere of agricultural production in the republic. Moreover, Agroprom, in the person of the presidium and council, has been given the right of coordinating the activities of all ministries, departments and organizations belonging to the agro-industrial complex, and the chairman of Agroprom, as the first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, has been given the direct responsibility for the work of these ministries and departments. The association's apparatus is smaller by 80 people in comparison with the apparatus of the previously-functioning three departments. The number of primary directors has decreased from 15 to nine.

In our opinion, the new administrative structure will enable us to eliminate inter-departmental barriers to a significant degree and to better maneuver financial and material-technical resources as well as the limits of capital investments. Most importantly, it will provide us with the opportunity to constantly improve the administrative mechanism and inter-branch ties and to better orient the activities of all enterprises and organizations toward the end results.

One of the widespread varieties of departmentalism is dependence. Some workers, instead of actively moving and solving problems that arise in a timely manner or utilizing internal reserves and possibilities better, try to place individual concerns on the shoulders of the state. How does this manifest itself? One example is the requests coming from rayons for the allocation of additional grain forage from state resources. At the same time some rayons are slow in dealing with questions related to the production of their own feed. A dependent attitude is manifested in decreasing attention to the private plot. As a result in a number of regions there has been a drop in the number of cows, hogs and birds found on private plots. Those who previously met their own needs for livestock products mainly by means of the private plot and who also sold their surplus to the state now buy these products in stores. It is clear that the situation that has developed does not yet satisfy public or private interests. The party has developed specific measures here and we must make more of an energetic effort to implement them.

Private plots of industrial enterprises can become a great help in supplying labor collectives with food. This is attested to by the experience of many plants and factories in the republic. Thus, in July of this year there was a seminar for the directors of enterprises of the electrotechnical industry in the country on the territory of the private plot belonging to the TEZ [Togliatti electrotechnical plant] imeni M. I. Kalinin Production Association. This undoubtedly was in recognition of the services of the association in organizing and developing the agricultural shop. At the present time Kalinin workers are raising about 400 hogs in the village of Kuldra of Vyruskiy Rayon; by 1990 the size of the herd will double. In addition, in Puurmani, where one of the subdivisions of TEZ is located, a farm has been renovated for fattening cattle.

However, in a number of places this important matter is not being given the necessary attention. Most of the enterprises in the city of Tartu, for example, still do not have their own subsidiary plots, including plants of the control apparatus, instrument makers, the Tartu Building Trust and the housing construction combine. The dependent attitude of the directors of these enterprises and their lack of desire to take on additional responsibilities related to supplying workers with food are evident. The Tartu city committee did the correct thing in making a principled evaluation of these facts.

In speaking about dependence we cannot remain silent about the problem of a more complete utilization of local resources to expand the production of consumer goods. The republic's enterprises produce a little over 2 percent of consumer goods from local raw materials and waste products. The remainder comes from centralized funds.

What is being done to radically alter the situation? First of all a republic goal-oriented comprehensive program, "The Utilization of Local and Secondary Raw Materials in the National Economy and in the Production of Consumer Goods," has been developed and is being implemented successfully. The first changes are already evident. During the last year the production of consumer goods from local resources increased by 10 million rubles.

We should emphasize that the Central Committee of the Estonian CP, party gorkoms and raykoms and local party organizations are constantly overseeing questions related to eliminating departmental barriers. Such questions are systematically examined in plenary sessions of party committees and buro meetings, in meetings of local party organizations and in conferences of the party-economic aktiv. Decisions that are made are secured with organizational and political work.

An important tested form of eliminating departmental barriers and of implementing local controls is the republic, city and rayon staffs for the organization of fulfilling extensive individual assignments and soviets of directors of city and rayon enterprises. The activities of these public organs are directed at more fully utilizing the production potential of each labor collective and at achieving maximal end results through joint efforts. On the basis of an analysis of economic practices and of a study and dissemination of the best methods of management the soviets and staffs develop recommendations on improving labor and production organization, on the efficient utilization of labor resources and on the development of mutual cooperation between enterprises. Of course, they make a decisive stand against departmentalism and regionalism and they exhibit initiative in expanding mutual ties between labor collectives. All of this bears its positive fruit.

Of course the influence of staffs and soviets is more noticeable the more effective their management by party committees and organizations, which force managers to be more active in solving inter-branch problems by means of their input into solutions to economic and social questions and their development of competition. At the same time we have warned party organs not to create various staffs and committees without need.

While demanding that the republic's party organizations consistently put forth national interests and skilfully coordinate the efforts of labor collectives and various ministries and departments with the goal of producing those products that have been determined by plan tasks and by the widespread demand of the Soviet people, we at the same time find it more difficult to effect national interests in departments located outside the borders of the republic. For example, some departments feel that the most important thing for them is to build a plant or a shop and to equip it with modern technology but at the same time they do not think about developing social services in their local enterprises. There are examples of such bitter experiences in the republic, but for some reason the necessary conclusions have not been reached. Confirmation of this is the building of a lighter shop in the village of Loksa by the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. It is being carried out fairly successfully, but there is no proportional development of the social sphere--questions related to the building of a school and a nursery school have not been solved and the needs of workers of the non-production sphere are not taken into account in the building of housing.

Until now we have talked about departmentalism as something organizations, enterprises and ministries had to fight against. But even party committees must sometimes free themselves of a narrow departmental and locally-oriented psychology. There are still instances in which party organs duplicate state organs.

This can be seen, for example, in the not yet totally eradicated terrible practice of changing production plans to decrease quotas or to bring them in line with what has actually been achieved. Some managers sometimes make a great effort to "hammer out" an easier plan, explaining this with all types of objective factors. Instead of decisively suppressing such attempts, party committees themselves sometimes act as solicitors by sending letters and telegrams to ministries and departments with requests to make concessions to the lovers of the easy life, thereby adopting a "regional interests first" position. All of this, as emphasized at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, frequently results in a decrease in the responsibility of directors of state organs, and in an attempt to place it on the shoulders of party organs; in the latter elements of a departmental approach to things arise involuntarily.

In our republic there was a serious discussion about this within the central committee with the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms. We made a strict agreement that each case in which a plan is corrected downward will be examined as extreme.

In bringing forward large-scale economic goals and in focusing attention on problems in growth and on the possibilities existing for the national economy, the party is making questions of strengthening state and plan discipline priority items. The steadfast implementation of a single party and national policy in all sectors of economic and cultural building will help the republic's workers to more successfully fulfill the goals arising from the decisions of the 26th party congress and the November 1982 and June 1983 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

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REGIONAL

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ESTONIAN CP ON PARTY DUES GIVEN

Tallinn KOMMUNIST ESTONII in Russian No 10, Oct 83 pp 40-45

[Article: Procedure for Computing, Accepting and Keeping Account of Party Membership Dues"]

[Text] All of the questions which concern the procedure for the computation and payment of party dues, their safekeeping and delivery, and also the accounting connected with them and the management of this important work sector are regulated by the Instruction on Membership Dues for CPSU Members and Candidate Members which has been approved by the CC CPSU.

There still occur in the republic party organization individual violations of this instruction and, in particular, its point concerning the payment of membership dues which are not based on full earnings. For this reason, secretaries, bureaus, and primary party organizations have to be concerned to see to it that all communists have a good knowledge of which monetary sums received by them in addition to their basic earnings, and in what amounts, are the basis on which they have to pay membership dues. There have been cases in which individual party organization secretaries have violated the procedure for delivering party membership dues to savings banks. Frequently party organization secretaries and communists request an explanation of one or another question connected with dues payment. Below a detailed explanation of the established procedure for receiving membership dues and registering and performing the accounting for them is given in the form of questions and answers.

On the basis of which sums is the payment of party membership dues performed?

The CC CPSU Instruction on Membership Dues for Party Members and Candidate Members stipulates that when party dues are received account must be taken not only of the basic earnings of communists, but also of all types of additional earnings. With workers basic earnings should be understood as their monthly wages computed on the basis of the approved wage rates, and time or piece payment for work, and with employees--their established monthly salaries.

The most widespread type of additional earnings are:

regional coefficients in individual branches of industry which are paid according to government decisions in the form of percentage additions to the wages of workers and employees;

wage elevations for seniority;

wage additions in individual branches of the economy for heavy and harmful labor;

additional payment for military titles and scholarly degrees and titles, personal wage elevations, and others;

rewards to workers and employees stipulated by the labor legislation for annual work results;

overtime and whole-job payment, and payment for holiday and night work;

additional payment for occupational (salaried job) doubling-up at the same enterprise, and payment for moonlighting in VUZes and other institutions and organizations, including for the delivery of reports and lectures;

literary honorariums and honorariums for works of representational and musical art, for staging work, for performances in concerts and on radio and television, for published articles, consultations, and for editing and for translating.

Of course, the possible additional earnings of communists are not exhausted by this list. For example, during leaves and holidays some of them have to perform various types of paid work at enterprises, kolkhozes, institutions, and educational institutions, work in construction detachments, give examinations to VUZ and tekhnikum entrants, and so forth. These and other types of additional earnings, despite the fact that they are obtained during leaves, have to be taken account of in the payment of membership dues. If, when he is going off on a leave, a communist has paid his dues for the current month (and this is usually the way it should be done), then his additional earnings obtained during leave time are taken into account with the payment of dues in the following month. They are added to basic earnings, and the amount of the dues is determined on the basis of the total amount.

Some communists receive monthly monetary compensation from cooperative gardener societies for the performance of the duties of society chairman, mechanic, or watchman, from trade union mutual help funds for the performance of the duties of treasurer, and so forth. These types of additional earnings must also be taken into account with the payment of membership dues.

It also has to be remembered that in accordance with the Instruction, the computation of the amount of party dues is performed from the total amount of a communist's earnings for a given month, regardless of what taxes and charges they are subject to.

From what kinds of monetary payments are membership dues not collected?

In accordance with the Instruction, party membership dues are not collected from the following monies obtained by communists: lump sum grants, severance pay, per diems connected with the transfer of workers, travel money and additions to wages in place of travel money, field provisions for the workers of geological expeditions, pay additions to workers of militarized guard services and fire fighting units instead of food rations, compensation for the non-use of leaves, other monetary compensations in place of payments and services in kind, and winnings on state loans and lotteries.

The payment of membership dues also does not include pensions which are received for minor children and in connection with the loss of a breadwinner, assistance to mothers with large families, the partial payment of child-care leave for working mothers (in the amount of 35 rubles per month until the child reaches the age of one year), and also benefits which are paid to workers and employees in compensation for damages caused to them (injuries or other damage to health connected with the performance of work duties). This also applies to communist-pensioners who, in addition to their pensions, receive an additional payment from an enterprise or other organization up to the amount of their average earnings for injuries or vocational illnesses. In this case the communist pays his membership dues only from his pension.

Are membership dues paid from the income from private subsidiary plots?

No, they are not. The Instruction does not provide for the payment of membership dues from the income from the sale of agricultural output obtained in private subsidiary farming.

One of the sources of the workers' income is comprised of various bonuses. From which of them are membership dues collected?

In accordance with the Instruction, in determining the amount of membership dues account has to be taken of all bonuses and other types of monetary compensation received by communists for their labor activities, for scientific discoveries, inventions, rationalization proposals and for helping in their introduction, and for the creation and introduction of new equipment and production technologies, and all other bonuses and compensations which are paid on the basis of governmental decisions or individual departmental instructions and regulations, regardless of from what means and funds they are paid.

It is frequently asked whether dues are paid from monetary bonuses received by communists for socialist competition results.

Yes, they are. A bonus for achievements in a competition is a form of compensation to workers and employees for their labor activities. For the same reason dues must be collected from bonuses for putting facilities into operation, for an economy of fuel and electrical and thermal energy, for the high quality production and punctual shipment of output for exports, for the production of consumer goods from production wastes, for the collection, grading, storage, and delivery of secondary raw materials, for the return and

use of packing materials, for the overfulfillment of metal scrap procurement and delivery plans, and so forth.

The Instruction stipulates that all of the amounts of additional payment and bonuses have to be added to a communist's monthly earnings and taken into account in the computation of the amount of dues in the month in which they are received. For example, if a bonus for the first quarter has been received in the middle of April, it is added to the communist's earnings for April and the amount of membership dues for that month is determined on the basis of the total amount. Account is also taken in the payment of dues of the amount of annual compensation which is added to a communist's earnings in the month in which it has actually been received by him.

Which monetary bonuses are not taken into account in the payment of party dues?

Membership dues are not collected from Lenin and State Prizes (Soviet Estonia prizes), bonuses and prizes for participation in contests and sports competitions, from lump sum bonuses and compensation on the occasion of revolutionary holidays and in connection with anniversaries. Intended are such lump sum bonuses and compensations which are paid to communists as rewards for their production and social and political activities in connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Victory Day, USSR Constitution Day, the First of May, and International Women's Day, and also in connection with the anniversary dates of an enterprise or organization, or of a communist himself (birthdays, or anniversaries of uninterrupted production, scientific, or creative work).

In accordance with the established procedure, a 50th birthday, 60th, 70th, and also the 75th are regarded as anniversary dates. The anniversary of an enterprise, scientific institution, and educational institution may be marked only on the occasion of the 50th, 100th, and every subsequent 50-year period after its founding.

Frequently at enterprises the payment of bonuses for production work in accordance with the existing bonus regulations is timed to coincide with revolutionary or occupational holidays. In all such cases membership dues must be collected on the basis of the general principles, that is, including these bonuses, as is stipulated by the Instruction of the CC CPSU.

In the payment of party dues account should not be taken of monetary bonuses which are received by communists in connection with the awarding of medals of the Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR for successes in the development of industry and agriculture, since such bonuses, in essence, are received for participation in a contest. The same may be said about bonuses which are issued for participation in scientific and other contests.

Membership dues must not be collected from monetary bonuses given to communists to take note of courage shown in the performance of special assignments—fires, accident prevention, the arrest of dangerous criminals, and so forth.

How is membership dues paid by communist kolkhoz workers and agricultural specialists working on kolkhozes?

Communist kolkhoz workers pay their membership dues from the amount of their actual earnings (money and in kind payments) for the past month, while workers in leadership positions, specialists, and kolkhoz administrative and service personnel pay them on the basis of their salaries (wage rates).

At the same time, in receiving dues from communist kolkhoz workers and other communists who work on kolkhozes account has to be taken of additional pay for production results, and also of all other money and in-kind payments which are received on the basis of the system of payment for labor and material incentives (bonuses) which is customary on the kolkhoz.

The amount of the additional payment and the bonuses have to be added to the monthly earnings of the communist kolkhoz workers or to the salaries of other communists working on the kolkhoz and be taken into account in the payment of dues in the month in which they are received. This procedure is also applied to the final payment which occurs at the time of the final monetary and in-kind settlements between kolkhozes and kolkhoz workers on the basis of the results of the agricultural year. All types of in-kind payments here (guaranteed, additional, bonuses) are translated into money at state purchasing prices. If a communist kolkhoz worker performs seasonal work on the outside—for example, in timbering, in construction organizations, and so forth,—his seasonal earnings outside of the kolkhoz also must be taken into account, like all other additional earnings.

In what procedure is the membership dues of communist fishermen and of the workers of other occupations who by virtue of the special conditions of their work are cut off from their party organization and to whom wages are not paid every month paid?

In such cases it will be incorrect to be guided by formal considerations and classify such communists as we are speaking about as membership dues debtors solely on the basis of the fact that they have not paid their dues at the times stipulated by the Instruction. True, in accordance with the By-Laws the nonpayment of dues for a period of three months without extenuating circumstances represents a violation of party discipline and the communist is held to blame. But this does not apply to those cases in which dues indebtedness arises not through the fault of the communist, but by virtue of the special conditions of his work.

There are cases when party organization secretaries, citing the procedure for the payment of membership dues which has been accepted in the party, themselves pay in a certain amount every month for absent communists, and carry out the final settlements with them at a later time. This practice is incorrect. If, for example, we are speaking about fishermen who are at sea for several months at a time and whose wages is paid to them at the end of the fishing season, the amount of their membership dues should be completed on the basis of their average monthly wages for the given period and the dues should be received for all of the months immediately without this matter being discussed at a party meeting.

If a communist is absent for extenuating reasons a note is made next to his name in the monthly membership dues register: "Absent due to terms of employment."

How do writers, artists, and other creative workers who are communists pay membership dues?

Writers, artists, composers, and other creative workers who receive creator's honorariums pay dues on the entire amount of the honorarium, or on the part which has been received in the form of an advance. The payment is made in the month in which the honorarium or advance has been received. If creative workers who are communists are employed at any permanent or temporary work, or have other earnings, the creator's honorarium is added to their monthly earnings and the dues are computed on the total amount.

How do communist pensioners pay their membership dues? Are their earnings added to their pensions?

According to the Instruction, communist pensioners pay their monthly membership dues on the basis of the general principles; that is, depending upon the amount of their pensions and other earnings. In the absence of the latter, they pay dues only on their pensions. Working pensioners pay their membership dues on the basis of the total amount of their pensions and earnings. For example, if a communist receives a pension of 80 rubles a month and, in addition, has earnings of 120 rubles, he pays his party membership dues from the 200 rubles.

If a communist pensioner is in a sanatorium or in some other treatment institution for a long time, in this case also he pays his dues on the basis of the general principles. Membership dues from pensioners are not to be received several months in advance.

What is to be kept in mind in receiving membership dues from communists who have been temporarily work incapacitated or who are going on leave?

In accordance with the Instruction, temporarily work incapacitated communists who receive assistance from social or cooperative insurance pay their membership dues for the days of their sickness from the amount of the assistance received by them in accordance with the medical bulletin. If, for example, a communist has been sick two weeks in March, while he has worked on the remaining days, then in paying his dues for March his earnings for the days he worked have to be added to the medical bulletin assistance paid him and the amount of the dues calculated on the basis of the total.

If for health reasons a party member or candidate member is unable to personally pay his dues, then, upon a commission from him, this can be done by some communist of his given party organization. The one who pays the dues signs the register. For example, the following notation was made: "Sarapuu ill. Paid by Yurisoo (signature)." In the event that a communist is sick, dues is not taken several months in advance.

During leaves or long travel assignments membership dues are paid from the amount of the average monthly earnings which are paid during the leave or the travel assignment. In cases when a leave begins in one month and ends in another, the party dues are paid for both months from the total earnings and leave pay. For example, if before going on leave beginning on 18 August a communist's earnings for worked days came to 90 rubles, and leave pay of 60 rubles has been paid for the remaining days, for the month of August the communist must pay dues on 150 rubles. But in September he will pay, for example, on 90 rubles of leave pay and 65 rubles of earnings, that is, on 155 rubles.

When a communist goes on leave, departs for a long travel assignment, and during the time of holidays (in the party organizations at schools, VUZes, and other educational institutions) membership dues may be paid in advance. In this case, the amount of the dues is computed on the basis of average monthly earnings. With the communist's return from leave or from his travel assignment an additional payment is made for the past months if actual earnings turn out to be more than the amount on which dues were paid.

What is the procedure for paying party membership dues? How is indebtedness on dues calculated?

According to the Instruction, every month every communist personally pays his membership dues to the party organization in which he is registered. It is not permitted to send membership dues through the mail, or to have them transferred to a savings bank. A party organization secretary does not have the right to accept membership dues from a communist who is newly arrived in the organization until he has been accepted in the permanent or temporary register of a party raykom or gorkom. Party candidate members pay party dues (after the question of admission has been decided at the raykom or gorkom bureau) from the moment that they have been admitted to the party by a meeting of the primary party organization. This procedure is also applied to Komsomol members who have been admitted to the party. If during the time that this question was being decided in the party raykom or gorkom the Komsomol member had been paying his dues in the Komsomol, then when he is issued his candidate's card a note is made in it to the effect that during such and such a month dues have been paid by him in his Komsomol organization.

Communists who have fixed monthly salaries pay their dues in the month for which they receive their salaries, or in the beginning of the following month when they receive their salaries for the second half of the month. The reception of membership dues from communists whose earnings are calculated in accordance with piece-rate pay or progressive piece rates plus bonuses is performed in the beginning of the following month when the earnings have finally been determined and the amount of the membership dues can be correctly calculated. It is not permitted to receive party membership dues for one or another month on the basis of the earnings of past months; that is, to mark down in the register and in the communist's party card the payment of dues, for example, for August, and to calculate the amount of the dues on the basis of the earnings of July.

Indebtedness on party dues is established in the current month for the past month. For example, if in August the dues for July have not been paid by a communist, this will be regarded as indebtedness.

It is not permitted to receive membership dues from communists who have indebtedness for three or more months without extenuating circumstances. Paragraph VIII of the CPSU By-Laws states: "The question of a party member or candidate member who has not paid his membership dues for a period of three months without extenuating reasons is subject to discussion in the primary party organization. If it becomes clear here that the given party member or candidate member has in actuality lost his connection with his party organization, he is regarded as having ceased to be a member of the party, and the primary party organization makes a decision about this and submits it for the approval of the party raykom or gorkom."

It follows from this that every case of the non-payment of membership dues over a period of three or more months must become the subject of a careful consideration by a primary party organization bureau or meeting. If the reasons for the non-payment of dues are found to be extenuating by the party bureau, a party meeting has the right to permit a communist to liquidate his indebtedness.

Who is supposed to receive party membership dues and how is their reception registered?

Dues are received personally by the secretary of the primary party organization or by his deputy, and also by the secretaries of shop party organizations who have been given this permission by the party raykom or gorkom. The receiving of membership dues is not a technical question. It gives the secretary or his deputy an additional possibility for personal contact with communists. When he receives dues the secretary of a primary or a shop party organization is obliged to enter the amount received in the party card or candidate's card, stamp it dues paid and put his signature on it. At the same time, the dues which have been received are recorded by the secretary in the register (Form No. 1) which is signed by the communist, thereby certifying the amount of his earnings on which the amount of the dues has been calculated and the correctness of the dues payment.

How is the non-payment or overpayment of membership dues recorded in the party card and register?

In the case on the non-payment of membership dues by a party member or candidate member the secretary or a member of the bureau or the party committee has to talk with the communist and find out the reasons for the non-payment, and if need be, hold a hearing of his explanation in the party organization.

Once the fact of non-payment has been established and a determination has been made of additional earnings, it is necessary to recalculate the amount of the membership dues, taking the actual earnings of a communist over the months as the basis, and to establish the time period for the liquidation of the unpaid amount. The payment of what is due is recorded by means of an

entry in the membership dues payment register of the word "Paid up" on the second line opposite the communist's name with the specification of the amount and the period for which the payment is being made.

It may occur that in error a communist pays more dues than is required. In that case at the time of the next dues payment the overpayment is returned to the communist under signature and stipulated in the register with the word "Overpayment."

The total amount of dues including an underpayment is specified in the party or candidate's card. For example, a communist has underpaid his dues in the amount of 4 rubles 40 kopecks. In the party card, in the column "Monthly Earnings" 200 rubles is specified, and in the column "Membership Dues"—9 rubles 40 kopecks (5 rubles + 4 rubles 40 kopecks).

In the event of an overpayment no notation is made in the party or candidate's card.

Each instance of underpayment over a long period of time (for example, one or two years) is examined by the raykom or gorkom after a corresponding determination by the primary party organization. If the amount of underpayment is substantial, a communist may be permitted to liquidate it over a period of several months.

In what procedure are dues which have been collected remitted to savings banks and the reports on them presented to the party gorkom or raykom?

The secretaries of primary and shop party organizations have to deliver collected membership dues to savings banks in full as they are received (but no less frequently than once in ten days). Moreover, it has to be kept in mind that secretaries of shop party organizations must themselves deliver membership dues to savings banks. It is prohibited to turn the money over to the secretary of the party committee or bureau of the primary party organization.

The membership dues statement (register, receipt for the delivery of money to a savings bank, and the summary statement) is presented by the secretary of the primary party organization to the raykom or gorkom at times established for him in accordance with the Instruction. After verifying the correctness of the dues payment, the party raykom or gorkom returns the register and savings bank receipt to the secretary of the party organization and issues him membership dues payment registers for the following month, a summary statement, and a statement of the delivery of money to a savings bank.

Membership dues payment registers and documents on the delivery of money to savings banks are kept in the primary party organization for five years, not counting the current year (the secretaries of shop party organizations give registers and savings bank receipts to the secretary of the bureau of the primary party organization at the end of the month).

In accordance with the Instruction, raykoms, gorkoms, and auditing commissions have to systematically monitor the punctual payment of membership dues

by communists and the delivery by party organization secretaries of collected dues to savings banks, and verify the fullness and correctness of the calculation of membership dues from all types of earnings by communists, and the correctness of the composition of monthly statements on the receipt of dues.

The state of membership dues payment should be regularly examined at party committee and bureau meetings and at meetings of primary party organizations.

The payment of party dues is not a formality, but a component part of the work of a party organization.

The procedure for the payment of membership dues which has been established in the party is regulated by the party's By-Laws and by the Instruction on Membership Dues for CPSU Members and Candidate Members, and this procedure has to be stringently observed.

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REGIONAL

LITERARY CRITICISM MUST SHOW MUTUAL INFLUENCE OF UZBEK, RUSSIAN LITERATURES

Moscow LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 9 Dec 83) pp 56-58

[Review by O. Filimonov of the book "Tvorchestvo russkikh pisateley Uzbekistana" (Monograficheskiye issledovaniya) [The Creative Works of Russian Writers of Uzbekistan (Monograph Studies)], Fan, Tashkent, 1982: "The Field of Mutual Influence"]

[Text] The experience of research into the creative works of Russian writers in one of the national republics, undertaken by the collective of the Department of Russian Literature of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. S. Pushkin, is of fundamental importance in characterizing the literary process in our country. Focusing on works by artists working with "other-national" material makes it possible, on the one hand, to discern new (and sometimes essential) facets of interrelations among fraternal literatures. On the other hand, it broadens the concept of the richness of Russian Soviet literature contemporary with us, the success of which to a certain extent determines the level of development of the whole multinational literature of socialist realism. Another important aspect of the general question of the nature of interrelations among the literatures of the socialist nations, finally, must be kept in mind--"bilingualism." This matter, of course, requires special investigation, but it cannot be resolved apart from the study of the characteristics of development of the national literatures at various stages and, consequently, general processes taking place in the society of mature socialism.

The socialist nations are successfully developing their cultures, including literatures having deep historical roots. "Bilingual" writers do not break connections with their own culture. But inasmuch as they turn to the Russian language, the rise of which is linked to the formation of one of the world's richest literatures, they have entered the "aesthetic field" of this literature. Out of this comes a kind of synthesis of two cultures, one which yields unique results in each specific case--a unique creative individuality capable (in the optimum case) of enriching the treasure of world culture. We encounter just such a phenomenon in dealing with the works of Ch. Aytmatov.

A kind of "reciprocal" movement of two mighty currents takes place: the works of a number of Russian-language representatives of the literatures of the socialist nations are based on the accomplishments of the Russian classics and contemporary Russian Soviet literature; the works of Russian writers,

especially in the national republics, actively absorb the vitalizing juices of the national literatures while retaining deep bonds with the traditions of the native literature. An example of this kind of synthesis of two cultures is seen in the works of S. Borodin, whose works are the subject of the first essay in this collection of literary portraits....

The monograph studies included in the book under review here constitute, in essence, one-third of a broader work. They are a continuation of studies begun in the 1960s that resulted in the publication of two collections that evoked the interest of a broad reading public--"Ocherki istorii russkoy literatury Uzbekistana" [Essays in the History of the Russian Literature of Uzbekistan], Volume I, 1967, Volume II, 1971.

Pointing out the unity of the principles of the research, the complexity of the theme, and changes in the object of the study in the process of its historical development, the authors of this book quite justifiably draw a conclusion concerning the necessity of evolution of the very genre of the research and the turn to monograph essays. They see their prime task as that of striving to "reveal the movement and characteristics of the creative individuality of a particular artist."

It must be kept in mind above all that not all the writers whose works are examined on the monograph plane fall under the definition formulated in the introduction to the first volume of "Essays in the History of the Russian Literature of Uzbekistan": "Depth and veracity in depicting the life of the Uzbek people, constancy of the creative interests attracting the writer to Uzbek themes, and active participation in the process of aesthetic mutual enrichment of literatures...."

V. Yan, for example, is a complex and original artist whose historical novels encompass a broad range of problems and even geographically cannot be tied to a single region. The novel "Chingizkhan," in fact, opens up a substantial lode of Asian material (Khorezm), but on the whole Yan's trilogy does not give sufficient grounds for speaking of a "constancy of creative interests" linked to "Uzbek themes."

The same discrepancy between the formula and the actual nature of the works of an interesting artist accounts for the reservation stated by I. Kol'tsova, the author of the monograph essay on L. Solov'yev. "L. Solov'yev," she writes, "is not exactly a local writer, but we include him among the Russian writers of Uzbekistan because his life and creative works are totally inseparable from Central Asia, in this case Uzbekistan. Central Asia was a life-long interest for him."

Such a treatment of the definition of a "Russian writer of Uzbekistan" compels I. Kol'tsova to focus attention on the writer's "main work"--a dilogy about Khodzha Nasreddin, to subordinate her analysis of L. Solov'yev's works to one purpose: that of explaining the sources of the "Nasreddin theme" in his works of various years. This approach is not unsuitable for a contemporary literary critic, but it artificially narrows the investigation and is hardly appropriate in a monograph essay.

Of course, the term "Russian writer of Uzbekistan" can be interpreted as well in a broader context, and certain other authors besides V. Yan or L. Solov'yev can serve as the object of study in this kind of publication. But then might it not be worthwhile to change the "working" formula?

Much more serious is the matter of the statement concerning a particular writer's active participation "in the process of aesthetic mutual enrichment of literatures." By no means has every writer who is the subject of study in the first book of monograph essays shown himself, without serious reservations, to be a participant in the all-union process of mutual bonds of literature. For such a bond to arise it is necessary to make a substantial contribution to the development of "one's own" literature, and only a master can do that. It is necessary to keep in mind that "a study of the general historical path covered by the Russian literature of Uzbekistan" is inconceivable without taking account of tendencies in the development of the whole multinational Soviet literature. And here it is essential to be guided by all-union criteria rather than by the tenets which the authors of these essays, so rich in material, have worked out for themselves. Only from the height of all-union criteria can we assess the participation of a particular writer "in the process of aesthetic mutual enrichment of literatures." For this reason, not all the authors of the collection seem to have passed the test of fidelity to the obligations they have taken upon themselves. Another factor here is the "approximative" selection of the subjects of the study.

Even in the study concerning the works of S. Borodin (by I. Temkina), a writer offering magnificent opportunities for serious theoretical conclusions, links with the all-union literary process are examined very inadequately. In fact, moreover, the essay does not reveal fully enough the factors governing the growth of S. Borodin as a historical novelist. And yet this essay, with its abundance of valuable observations concerning the creative traits of S. Borodin, can be classified among the best monograph surveys in the book.

Even more disquieting are the perspectives of the collection's authors. One is especially astonished by the collective's striving to examine the creative works of the younger generation of Uzbekistan's writers within the confines of the "general movement" of Russian literature in Uzbekistan, rather than in the all-union context.

"This kind of continuity," we read further on, "is also observed in the Russian poetry of Uzbekistan." The work presents a distinctive array of names: R. Farkhadi, S. Madaliyev...--A. Ivanov, S. Somova, R. Galimov.... And through them alone is assumed young poets' perception of "the aesthetic experience of Yesenin, Tikhonov, and Lugovskiy." It is asserted, moreover, that outstanding Soviet writers can be of particular interest to the collective authors of forthcoming monograph surveys as "masters of national transformation."

Such is the consistency of realization of the authors' decision to be guided by regional criteria that are of doubtful scientific validity and scarcely suitable to an objective evaluation either of the creative works of particular writers or the literary process as a whole. This constitutes the main defect, unquestionably, of an interesting book that merits attention.

It hardly needs to be argued that artificially correlating the works of one writer with those of another, without taking account of general tendencies in the literary process, is not very productive, and that an attempt to reduce a circle of "teachers" to a list of representatives of a particular region is not the last word in contemporary literary criticism.

And if we consider that in some cases the experience of the "older" representatives of Russian literature in Uzbekistan is evaluated from the "height" of those same regional guidelines, the danger of wiping out all criteria in evaluating the creative works of rather interesting writers becomes especially apparent.

And the question arises: Do the best of these writers really need this kind of approach? And is science enriched by an attempt to level out the literary process and create the illusion of an abundance of creative individualities by listing the names of authors of works that are not of the slightest value?

The first book of monograph essays in "The Creative Works of the Russian Writers of Uzbekistan" includes 10 literary portraits that are by no means equal in depth of analysis. Nor do all of them suffer equally from the shortcomings mentioned above. Each of the essays contains particular observations which enrich our concepts about the writers, although the works of some of them are within the purview of criticism of more than one decade (S. Borodin, V. Yan, L. Solov'yev, M. Sheverdin).

In analyzing S. Borodin's epic "Zvezdy nad Samarkandom" [Stars Over Samarkand], for example, I. Temkina expresses the interesting idea that S. Borodin extends the "traditions of polyphonism started in Russian literature by Dostoyevskiy" to the "genre of the historical novel."

T. Lobanova successfully discerns the humanistic fervor of V. Yan's historical novels, in particular his "Chingizkhan." The nature of the exposition of the theme of internationalism and peoples' friendship in A. Almatinskaya's "Gnet" [Oppression] (R. Diyazheva) and the characteristics of creation of the poetic image in the lyrics of N. Burova (P. Tartakovskiy) or S. Somova (S. Kaganovich)--these constitute some of the lines of creative research by the authors of the monograph essays. Sometimes these quests yield valuable results and map out ways of future advance.

In this connection I should like to deal in somewhat more detail with the problem of the creation of a national character.

The authors of the collection do not confine themselves to general formulas reflecting the unity of the material and the creative principles characteristic of the writers of Uzbekistan. They are not satisfied by the fundamentally correct idea of the complexity of the creation of a national ("other-national") character. They go into the material in depth, showing in each specific case, taking account of a particular writer's characteristic individuality, how the process is accomplished, how the living material is transformed in works of various genres during the creation of an artistic figure, what the role of the traditions of the literature of the East is and

what the characteristics of the Russian writer's perception of these traditions is like. All these and many other factors are taken into account in interpreting the experience of the Russian writers of Uzbekistan who have made a number of creative discoveries in terms of comprehending the national character of the peoples of Central Asia. This fact must be emphasized especially in view of the fact that the problem of creation of the national character by means of artistic literature runs through the entire collection.

Of course, this book does not (nor could it) give answers to many important questions having to do with this problem. But particular observations made in connection with analyzing specific works contain grains of reason which a theory of contemporary art cannot afford to ignore.

Especially interesting in this regard are conclusions drawn concerning the characteristics of the creation of a national character in S. Borodin's historical novels, also the specifics of building such a character in lyric poetry.

Posing the question as to whether Timur is a national character and to what extent a despot can be a national character (in S. Borodin's "Stars Over Samarkand"), I. Temkina is quite right in asserting that the answer to this question "cannot be unequivocal," that the figure created by the artist emerges as a single fusion of the social, the national-specific, and the individual-personal. She backs up this conclusion by a number of interesting observations which reveal very subtly the principles governing S. Borodin's work using historical materials.

Of great importance, in this connection, is the writers' handling of the folklore of the peoples of the East. Most interesting in this case are the ideas of I. Kol'tsova, who very thoroughly (and quite convincingly!) traces the national sources of Khodzha Nasreddin's character in L. Solov'yev's diology. This forceful, epic figure could be created by a Russian writer only after a profound study of folklore material which would enable him to understand thoroughly the genuine power of a people's "collective mentality." It is in his conscious and faithful orientation to folklore that the author of the essay about L. Solov'yev sees one of the main tendencies in the creative works of this talented artist.

On the other hand, a superficial glance at the life of the fraternal peoples, coupled with an inability to understand the characteristics of their psychic makeup and their culture, leads to the creation of personages who only outwardly reflect the traits of a national character. Such is the conclusion to be drawn from P. Mirza-Akhmedova's essay about A. Udalov. In analyzing his stories which preceded the appearance of the novel "Chasha terpeniya" [The Cup of Patience], P. Mirza-Akhmedova writes: "The real-life facts that show up in Udalov's stories 'Discoverers of the World,' 'The First Snow,' and 'Once in the Summertime' have not served to produce great art. Their truth is pale, uninspired by the living force of creativity, converted to an artist's illustration of particular real-life events." Evaluated in the same context is the story "The Duel" and some of A. Udalov's stories and essays of the 1940s and 1950s. What is essential here is the fundamental requirement of a profound knowledge of life in the creation of a national character.

"The main thrust of the party's and people's endeavors at the present stage," CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Yu. V. Andropov remarked in his address "Sixty Years of USSR," is to "perfect developed socialism" (PRAVDA, 22 December 1982). This process conditions the all-round development of interrelations among the cultures of the socialist nations and requires further deepening of the research.

The experiment undertaken along these lines by the collective authors is a very topical one and merits serious attention.

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6854

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REGIONAL

TURKMEN NOVEL TAKES 3RD PLACE IN 'CHEKIST, BORDERGUARD LITERATURE' CATEGORY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 8 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by TurkmenINFORM: "Of People Strong in Spirit"]

[Text] Patriotic and civic enthusiasm and thoughtfulness about historic events marked the publication of Rakhim Esenov's novel "Teni zhelтого dominiona" [Shadows of Yellow Dominion]. The well-known prose writer and journalist recounts the collapse of the Basmachi in Central Asia. Based on abundant factual material he unveils the insidious schemes of Western special services against the young Turkmen republic and friendly Afghanistan and retraces the origins of friendship between the two states. Two parts of the book published by Molodaya Gvardya [Young Guard] publishers found a broad audience.

On New Year's Eve came happy news: the novel "Teni zhelтого dominiona" was awarded the third prize in the competition for the best works in literature, cinema and television on Chekists and border guards. The results of creative competition were summed up by the USSR State Security Committee.

After congratulating Rakhim Makhtumovich Esenov on the high rating of his work, the Turkmeninform correspondent asked the writer to share his thoughts about his future creative plans.

"I celebrated the beginning of 1984 with work on a sequel to the novel," said the laureate. "The book's action takes place in the years of war in Germany and in a number of other hot spots of World War II - Iran, Afghanistan and Poland. In the center of the narrative is the heroic figure of a Soviet scout, whose prototype became the legendary Aga Berdyev. In following world events with anxiety, today we notice striking historical analogies. Some people did not benefit from the lessons of history. This is why this subject never leaves me. I would like to complete the sequel to the novel by the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory. Another significant date - the 60th anniversary of the republic and the creation of the Turkmenistan Communist Party - will be marked by the dedication of a story about the kray's first bolsheviks, whose manuscript also is on my desk."

9932

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REGIONAL

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF TURKMEN 'HOUSE OF ATHEISM' ON REFINING ATHEISTIC WORK

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by L. Red'ko, deputy director of the Republic House of Scientific Atheism: "Center of Scientific Atheism"; from the column "Education Requires a Comprehensive Approach"]

[Text] "All our ideological and propaganda work must be decidedly elevated to the level of those great and complex tasks which are determined by the party in the process of perfecting developed socialism." These words of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Yu. V. Andropov pronounced at the June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee serve as guidance for the workers of the republic House of Scientific Atheism.

This house has been in existence only for three years but its employees have already done a great deal. All their activities proceed according to a long-range plan and are directed toward an improvement in the propaganda of scientific atheist knowledge in the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 22nd Turkmen CP Congress. The plan was worked out concurrently with the TUSSR "Znaniye" Society and aims at a constant improvement in the methods and practice of propaganda of scientific atheist knowledge, and the methods of shaping the scientific atheist education of the working people.

Great attention is given to propaganda lecturing, peoples universities and scientific atheism departments.

In the propaganda of scientific atheist knowledge in the republic, the workers of the TUSSR Academy of Sciences, instructors of higher educational institutions, medical workers, lawyers, and school teachers participate. The lectures center around the Leninist atheistic heritage, the CPSU and Soviet government documents, the principles of USSR and TUSSR constitutions relating to the freedom of conscience, the critique of the reactionary essence of Islam, vestiges of Moslem religion, new socialist traditions and rites, and the Soviet way of life.

Such forms of atheistic propaganda as film lectures, Atheist Days and Weeks, question and answer evenings, discussion evenings and others are also widely used.

It has already been two years since the film lecture bureau "Atheistic readings" has been working at the Home of Atheism. During that period of time three cycles of lectures were given to various audiences such as women workers of a silk-winding factory, Turkmentsentrostroy trust construction workers, and the urban professional-technical school No. 8 students. Film lecturing field exercises are also practiced. For example, they took place in some kolkhozes of Bakhardenskiy Rayon.

Atheist Days became a widely used form of activity. This year they were held in the entire republic on the subject of "scientific world outlook and religion." State Museum of History of Religion and Atheism employees from Leningrad and many of our atheists took an active part in these activities. In Bakharden, for example, the speakers at the meeting included Turkmen CP Central Committee lecturer S. Atayev, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. Akinyazov, and TSSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Atheism Section junior scientific worker M. Tuvanbayeva. The Atheist Day program in this rayon center concluded with questions and answers followed by demonstration of a film on an atheistic subject.

The House of Atheism also provides assistance to other organizations in carrying out atheistic measures on a large scale. For example, on Atheism Day our employees participated in the courses for trade union workers, and in the Young Atheist Week - at the capital's tekhnikum of Societ Trade. Then they left town on a propaganda train "Lenin Relay" spoke to the participants of the conference on a timely subject of "perfecting the means of atheistic education of young students," organized by the TUSRR State Committee for professional technical education. We also offer consultation in the establishment of atheistic corners in enterprises, schools, etc.

An important objective in the activities of the republican house of scientific atheism is the preparation of lecturers and organizers of scientific atheist propaganda. Every year we have seminar-conferences on important problems of scientific atheism. There is a peoples university at the House of Atheism. Its program "Ways and methods of atheistic work in the school" is aimed at the general education schools of the capital. The two-year program provides for learning the basic principles of atheist propaganda, the practice of atheist education in history, literature and natural sciences lessons, exchanging individual work experience with the students and their parents, and the formation of a scientific materialistic outlook.

To raise the level of lecturing skills and to attract the teachers of higher and secondary special educational institutions to propaganda lecturing, a peoples university for atheist lecturers was established at our initiative.

One of the main objectives of the House of Atheism activities is methodological work. A number of textbooks was prepared for the peoples universities students such as "Annotated list of atheist literature for 4th to

10th grades (1979-1982)"; "Chemistry unmasks religion"; "How to prepare and conduct an atheist evening discussion and quiz," and "Antisocial nature of Easter."

Considerable amount of organizational and propaganda work is done by the republican scientific-method council, coordinating its activity with the scientific atheism section of philosophy and law department of the TUSSR Academy of Sciences. Enthusiastic participants in scientific-atheist propaganda are candidate of historical sciences candidate E. Atagarryyev, candidates of philosophical sciences and Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute instructors G.B. Akinyazov, A. Taylyev, A. Orastaganov, senior Turkmen State University instructor D.I. Karlyy, and others. They provide systematic assistance to the atheist lecturers of oblast, city and rayon organizations, actively participate there in debates, consultations, scientific and practical conferences, and give lectures and speeches.

This year, for example, a weekly outing of the republican House of Atheism automobile club was organized in Maryy Oblast. Council members and House of Atheism employees helped in organizing the seminars with the atheist lecturers in Maryy, Bayram-Ali, Yolotan and Takhta-Bazar.

To increase the effectiveness of atheist propaganda in all oblasts of the republic, oblast houses of scientific atheism were established in 1983. Currently, of course, they are going through a difficult period. The republican center's task is to assist them by all possible means in the coordination of their activities.

"It is necessary to actively conduct the propaganda of scientific-materialistic views in the population, and pay more attention to atheist education." This was stated in the June (1983) plenum resolution of the CPSU Central Committee. To reach these goals, the house of scientific atheism has still a great deal to accomplish.

Our work has many shortcomings which have to be eliminated in the very near future. The lectures, for example, still show signs of weakness in establishing the connection between scientific atheist propaganda and the goals of ideological-political work, and moral education of the Soviet people. The lecturers do not always explain clearly enough the situation of religion that applies to one rayon or another. It would seem that the scientific-method council needs to check more often the attendance and the reviewing of lectures in order to improve their quality.

The atheists do not sufficiently utilize the technical means of propaganda or its visual means. This could be explained by the fact that special posters, mobile stands and exhibits and illustrated publications are not available so far. It must be arranged for their supply as soon as possible.

More active development is needed for such areas of atheist work as lecture cycles, film lectures and peoples universities.

Briefly, we have a duty to increase the effectiveness of our work in one of the most important areas of communist education of the Soviet people.

9932

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REGIONAL

LOYAL BAPTISTS REJECT GIFTS FROM ABROAD

Minsk SOVETSKAYA LELORUSSIYA in Russian 18 Dec 83 pp 2-3

[Article by I. Gurinovich: "Bait"]

[Text] After a regular prayer meeting, the presbyter of the Zhitkovichi community of Evangelical Christian Baptists asked all those to stay who had received parcels and those who had been notified of "gifts"--this is what someone had written in printed letters on the boxes--that had come from abroad, more precisely from the FRG.

When the first postal notifications with an unknown return address arrived for the people, they, not suspecting anything, went to the post office. On opening the parcels, they found in them bed linens, children's "kolgoty", towels and sundry trifles covered with foreign labels.

What is this? From whom is it? Who is it in a foreign country that knows our home addresses and names? And, finally, why, what is the reason behind all this? On thinking about it and discussing it with each other, the believers turned to the Soviet authorities with a request to protect them from such absurd gifts. It was explained to the people--they were given voluntarily and no one can be forbidden to do this. And as to whether or not to accept what was received --this depends entirely on whom they were intended for, whether or not the person believed in their sincerity and whether or not they offended his self-respect or contained some kind of material gain.

A similar "flood" of parcels "descended" on the believers of all four communities located in Zhitkovichskiy Rayon.

I arrived with detachment No 2 of an expedition of the BSSR Administration of Geology where Yakov Matveyevich Tsuber, the presbyter of the Gryadovskaya community of Evangelical Christian Baptists, works as a stonemason. Here our talk took place.

"When a parcel arrived in my name," Yakov Matveyevich said, "I already knew of such "presents" and consequently wrote a letter of refusal. A real or fictitious name was indicated on the return address, but I requested a certain Jan not to send me anything. I wrote that I had adequate clothing and food and it therefore would be better for the brothers and sisters to concern themselves with orphans and the unemployed in their country.

The parcels, which came in a regular flow, at first evoked bewilderment and then indignation. Actually, what took place seems at the very least strange.... The entire world is shaken by the events in Western Europe which have placed mankind on the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The governments of the FRG, England and Italy obligingly made their territories available for the installation of American missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and its Warsaw-Pact allies. Our people, our land are threatened by mortal danger. The Soviet government has been forced to undertake responsive measures for strengthening the security of our country. And against the background of these events--pillowcases, towels, blouses, "kolgotki"....

One has the impression that the people who thought up the operation "Present" seemed to be from another planet, cut off from the common aspirations and hopes of everyone living on earth or voluntarily blinded and thus not understanding that today good will, the desire to help him who is close to you, "to love him as your self" are expressed not by means of charitable presents but by other means. For example, by such as the one resorted to by one of the most influential of American evangelist preachers, Billy Graham. In 1982, he, despite the efforts of the White House to prevent the trip, went on a peace mission to far-off Moscow in order to take part in a World Conference "Religious Men of Peace Against Nuclear Catastrophe." Overcoming the pressure of official American circles, he spoke at the conference--as that was the wish of his followers who demanded it.

Today for men of good will, regardless of their nationality, place of residence, there is no more important concern than the preservation of peace. And the people, including believers, are taking action....

Several days before our arrival at the geological expedition, Yakov Matveyevich Tsuber turned over to the Peace Fund a portion of his earnings; a collective contribution was made to the Peace Fund by communities of Evangelical Christian Baptists active in the villages of Gryada, Yurkevichi, Bolshiye Steblevichi and in Zhitkovichi.

Many believers work diligently. Vasiliy Stepanovich Gotchenya, a turner working at the machine shops of Kolkhoz XX Pats'yezd, has been repeatedly a labor competition winner. His namesake, tractor operator Vladimir Prokofyevich Gotchenya, works fast and well at Leninskiy Sovkhoz. Konstantin, Antonovich Okhotenko, now a pensioner from the village of Gryada, fought in the Great Patriotic War, reached Berlin, built the world-famous monument to the valor of Soviet soldiers in Treptov Park, took part in the Victory Parade in Moscow and was awarded war medals. He subsequently was awarded the peace medal of Veteran of Labor.

People act in the name of peace!

And then "voices" are heard. They come to us over the air from afar. They are insinuating and markedly confidential, for their job is to lull, to relax vigilance and at the same time to slightly displace accents and to make imperceptible use of people's religious beliefs for political purposes. They begin broadcasting with religious dogma: "peace is not in man's hands but is

the gift of God's Grace. Only Christ can give peace to mankind, for which reason the preservation of peace is not man's concern." Then a behavioral prescription is given: man must pray--the preservation of peace is only possible through prayer. Then they divide the people, suggesting that only believers can live in peace, only believers are capable of loving one another. Finally, it is not necessary to pronounce a "cranial" sententious utterance to the effect that believers are beyond politics--it is enough, for example, to give the appearance at the height of political struggle that there are no ideological barricades. To "simply" close one's eyes to these "worldly squabbles" and to send a naive present across state boundaries to one's brother "in the faith." How glorious! A parcel with cotton textiles to a "brother" in Russia! As if more than 60 years had not passed since the Great October Revolution, as if our country today had not yet become among the most developed in the world. As if the high level of the Soviet people's well-being, the tremendous industrial potential and our social gains--universal secondary education, free medical care, absence of unemployment, material security in old age, assistance to families with many children and so on and so forth--did not gladden us.

The Severenchukov family of believers living in the village of Gryada has five children. Both parents are still under 30 years of age. Leonid Vasilyevich works as a driver at the kolkhoz and Nina Leonidovna at the present time is on a one and a half year's maternity leave taking care of the baby. The young family has its own home, a private plot, livestock. Each month the family receives in addition to wages more than 100 rubles from the state for the upbringing of the children.

"We lack nothing," Nina Leonidovna says. "I know what my children can look forward to. The children of a believing family study on an equal basis with everyone at schools, tekhnikums, VUZ's. They can obtain any specialty and work--only work, do not loiter! Among my fellow believers all are provided for. And as for the parcels, I can say the following: we accepted one out of curiosity, the second we refused. Can I positively say to myself that they are a sincere gift from a fellow believer? No! Could I say without any doubt that it contains no hidden gain? I cannot.

The behavioral logic of believers of the Evangelical Christian Baptists' church is to earn "eternal life." Earthly life, they believe, is given to man by God as a testing period and the idea is to exist in it worthy of God and his precepts. The behavior of a believer will be pleasing to God when he cleanses himself of "life's dross." Material gain is one example of "life's dross" which defiles the soul. Nina Severenchuk was afraid of the emergence of the feeling of material gain in herself.

Why have I brought this up? Because Baptist ideologues constantly uphold the thought that without belief in God man is deprived of moral principles and lofty ideals. A nonbeliever tries to satisfy his "carnal" needs in this "brief life," since he is bereft of the hope for an eternal life.... This is how the Baptists think.

And here I ran across facts where one of the presbyters suddenly stopped being concerned with the moral improvement of believers. One might think that any departure from observance of religious morality or deviation for the sake of

"earthly material gain" would upset the leaders of the community and provoke open hostility toward such facts. Especially since the community was divided into those who believed in the possibility of accepting charity and those who categorically rejected it. But this is not where the matter lies. Leonid Fedorovich Luk'yanovich, the presbyter of the community in the village of B. Steblevichi, is a confirmed evangelist, but he did not take this step. He did not try to investigate thoroughly the moral differences in his flock, but preferred not to spoil relations with their far-off West-German "brothers."

But the behavioral picture of the people in the community did not take shape simply and far from all the believers were guided by "high moral principles." For example, the nylon jacket indicated in the declaration became for the young Baptist that decisive factor which made him accept the parcel. However, cleansing of "life's dross" can be subject to forgetting. Some, with enigmatic face, showing as much holiness as possible, declared: pay no attention, the gift of love of our "brothers and sisters" regardless of where their place of residence (read: political conviction, class affiliation)--would mean hurting them....

But does not this concern with the ostensible spiritual closeness to fellow believers abroad and excessive "concern" about impressions produced on the "brothers" abroad give rise to (or mask) the first steps toward betrayal, as was the case, for example, when Yekaterina Firsova and Ivan Komar, evidently sensing in themselves "sonship with God" and for that reason "constant readiness of love for all people" decided to leave the Soviet Union and go to "any noncommunist country."

Is it not because of such "spiritual closeness" that foreign ideological centers, including those of a religious hue, are emerging everywhere. But the effect of their efforts we can say outright is negligible. The majority of believers have condemned and in this way prevented betrayal. Firsova and Komar were almost banned from the community.... Patriotism has always been inherent in the great majority of Soviet people. Believers are no exception.

Yes, convictions of people and their ability to orient themselves in a situation and to analyze what is going on hinder our enemies from engaging in ideological cultivation. The facts attest to that. But, alas, naive people, believing in forces of the other world, existence after death, Hell or Paradise and working on their inner "perfectioning" in imitation of Christ, are not always able to understand all the stratagems of purposeful working on their consciousness and to sort out the collection of tricks and juggling which finally drags them into matters which have no connection with "humility," piety and righteousness. Cases are frequent where the most malicious designs are to be found under the aegis of Christ. Here is a recent case described in a letter to the editors. Some crafty mind thought up and arranged a wedding where they decided to unite the destinies of two believers. What's so special about that, you might ask. In principle nothing, if... more than 500 believers had not arrived from different cities in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Armenia and Russia to a wedding banquet in a small woodland village. If... the

village had not become overcrowded with motor vehicles and buses. If... the holding of the wedding banquet with religious psalms had not been arranged on the eve of the most important celebration of our people--the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

An ordinary wedding? No! A large religious assemblage for the purpose of spreading religion.

Today imperialism has declared a crusade to the Land of the Soviets. Its aim is to destroy socialism, to wipe it off the face of the earth. Enormous institutions, financed by the imperialist states, are engaged in a search for new forms and methods of diversive ideological work. They use any channels capable of dulling the class consciousness of a Soviet individual, besmirching his consumerism, removing his ideals from their pedestal, making "to have!" as a main slogan, sowing distrust between the different generations, between believers and atheists and morally breaking down young people.

From this point of view, religious philosophy has been subjected to analysis by bourgeois intelligence services for the purpose of dragging through it ideas that are far from being solely "suited for God." Legal and illegal channels are used: from jesuistically "innocuous" parcels and greetings during times of maximal political confrontation to criminal transportation of inflammatory antisoviet literature.

And this destructive mechanism is made to operate by people who believe neither in God nor in the Devil and who maniacally aspire to world dominance.

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REGIONAL

RELIGION, OLD CUSTOMS CREATE PROBLEMS IN CHECHEN-INGUSH ASSR

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by V. Lysenko and A. Podl'skiy: "The Priority of Being Businesslike"]

[Excerpts] The small Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic occupies important positions in the economic complex of the Russian Federation. It provides petroleum and gas, and is a large center of the petrochemical industry, machine building, and of the construction industry. Its agriculture is specialized in the production of meat, milk, grapes, sugar beets, corn, and tobacco.... This basic economic function of the mountain republic determined the content of a detailed analysis of the results which had been achieved there at a Chechen-Ingush Oblast party conference. A realistic and demanding approach to problems and phenomena in the economy, social life, political organization work, and culture and science was reflected in the report of the party obkom which was delivered by the First Secretary A. V. Vlasov, and also in many of the statements of speakers at the conference.

The leaders of the oblast party organization also looked at their own work from self-critical positions. Unhypocritical criticisms were made even about features of the personalities and about the behavior of comrades which, as we know, determine the atmosphere and orderliness of work. It was emphasized that some people have to be simpler and more accessible, others must not permit categoricalness in their opinions, and yet others should not load their days with endless, and, as a rule, ineffective conferences....

No matter what problem was touched upon by the oblast party conference it was always noted that success depends upon people, and, for this reason, ideological work is absolutely of the first importance. In this sense, Chechen-Ingushetiya has the special characteristic that religious influences still make themselves felt here, and that an end has not yet been put to manifestations of old customs which have been rejected by life and which frequently inhibit the initiative of people and create a situation of localism and of relations at work and in everyday life which are lax and lacking in principle. Instances were cited of people covering up for one another's corruption, of a toleration of violations of labor discipline, and of money-grubbing. Censure was given to an approach to cadres in which, instead of

studying a person's political and practical qualities, he is evaluated by his family ties and by the position of his close and distant relatives.

The conference worked out an overall program of practical actions aimed at ensuring the absolute fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and of the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Universal approval was received by the patriotic initiative of seven workers' collectives which adopted counter-plans which provide for an above-plan increase in labor productivity of more than 1 percent and a decrease in costs of 0.7 percent. And the delegates left the conference solidly certain of new accomplishments.

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